BOMBAY GOVERNMENT RECORDS.

No. XLIX.—New Series.

CAPTAIN R. L. PLAYFAIR'S HISTORY OF ARABIA FELIX,

OR

YEMEN,

INCLUDING

AN ACCOUNT OF ADEN.

WITH A MAP OF YEMEN.

Price Three Rupees

00103324

BOMBAY BRANCH
OF THE
Royal Asiatic Society.

Digitized with financial assistance from
Government of Maharashtra
on 30 January, 2020

SELECTIONS FROM THE RECORDS OF THE BOMBAY GOVERNMENT.

No. XLIX.—New Series.

A HISTORY

OF

ARABIA FELIX OR YEMEN,

FROM THE COMMENCEMENT OF THE CHRISTIAN ERA TO THE PRESENT TIME;

INCLUDING AN ACCOUNT

OF THE

103324

BRITISH SETTLEMENT OF ADEN.

BY

CAPTAIN R. L. PLAYFAIR,

MADRAS ARTILLERY; AND FIRST ASSISTANT POLITICAL RESIDENT, ADEN.

LIBRARY OF THE BOMBAY BRANCH OF THE ROYAL ASIATIC SOCIETY.

Bombay:
PRINTED FOR GOVERNMENT
AT THE
EDUCATION SOCIETY'S PRESS, BYCULLA.

1859.

00103324

THIS VOLUME

Is Respectfully Dedicated

TO THE

GOVERNMENT OF BOMBAY,

UNDER WHICH

THE AUTHOR

HAS THE HONOUR TO SERVE.

PREFACE.

THE interest which has attached itself to Yemen since Aden, one of its principal seaport towns, became a British possession, determined the Government of Bombay to prepare for publication a series of Selections from its Records, illustrative of the History of Aden since its occupation by the British.

Such a collection of papers must necessarily have been incoherent and incomplete; the Author has therefore been induced to arrange for publication the notes which he had collected during a long residence in Arabia, and which a recent visit to England has enabled him to correct and augment, by a careful search of the various Public Libraries there, and of the unpublished Records of the East India House, whence much interesting matter has been obtained.

The Author does not propose to himself any ambitious task; a connected History of Arabia Felix or Yemen, the most important province of the great Arabian Peninsula, has long been a desideratum in English literature, and his object will have been attained if he succeeds in throwing such a general light on the subject as may furnish a ready reference to it, and perhaps facilitate the labours of a future historian.

The History of Arabia anterior to Christianity has been so fully illustrated by eminent Orientalists, amongst whom the names of Baron de Sacy and Caussin de Percival stand pre-eminent, that the subject may be considered exhausted; but from that period to the present day, no connected history of Yemen exists. The Author has therefore determined to confine himself to the latter period, and to arrange in chronological order all the material he has been able to collect, which tends to throw light on this interesting subject.

To secure uniformity, all dates have been reduced to the same standard of reckoning, that of the Christian Era; but the corresponding years of the Hejira may easily be calculated by the following formula; it being borne in mind that the former are solar, and the latter lunar years, and that 521 solar are equal to 537 lunar years:—

Ex.—What is the year of Christ 1734 according to the Hejira?

From.....	1734	A.D.
Subtract	621	the difference of the two Eras;
Result	1113	of the Hejira in solar years:

Then, 521 : 537 :: 1113 : 1147.

CONTENTS.

PAGE

List of Authorities ix

Chapter I.—General remarks on Yemen 1

Chapter II.—Aden 5

Chapter III.—The Tehâma 19

Chapter IV.—Sanäa 27

Chapter V.—Láhej 33

Chapter VI.—Kaukebán; Belád-el-Kabäil or Háshid-wa-Bakeel; Aboo-Areesh; and Beni-Hallál 37

Chapter VII.—Khaulán; Sanhán and Säadeh; Nejrán; Nehm; and East Khaulán 39

Chapter VIII.—Belád-el-Jeháf 41

Chapter IX.—Yaffa 43

Chapter X.—History of Yemen from the commencement of the Christian Era to the Abyssinian Conquest 45

Chapter XI.—Yemen, during the Abyssinian Occupation 67

Chapter XII.—Yemen, during the Persian Occupation 72

Chapter XIII.—Yemen, from the Era of the Hejira to the First Dynasty of the Sultans, or Imáms 78

Chapter XIV.—Yemen, during the First Dynasty of Sultans, or Imáms 85

Chapter XV.—Early Discoveries and Conquests of the Portuguese and Turks in Yemen 96

Chapter XVI.—From the First Appearance of the British in the Red Sea to the Evacuation of Yemen by the Turks 105

Chapter XVII.—Yemen, from the Second Dynasty of Imáms of Sanäa to the Wahábie Invasion 111

Chapter XVIII.—Yemen, from the Wahábie Invasion to the present time 127

PAGE

CHAPTER XIX.—History of the Reigning Family of Láhej and Aden, from the period of their Independence to the Conquest of Aden by the British..... 159

CHAPTER XX.—Aden since the British Conquest 164

SUPPLEMENTARY CHAPTER.—Concerning the Expedition to the Somáli-Coast in 1855, under Lieutenant Burton 176

APPENDICES.

APPENDIX A.—Chronological Table of the Imáms of Sanäa 178

APPENDIX B.—Chronological Table of the Sultans of Láhej from the Period of their Independence 179

APPENDIX C.—Existing Treaty between the British and the Sultan of Láhej .. 180

APPENDIX D.—Treaty between the British and the Habr Owel Tribe of Somálies. 184

APPENDIX E.—Treaty between the British and various Chiefs and Elders on the Coasts of Arabia and Africa, for the Suppression of the Trade in Slaves. 186

INDEX 187

LIST OF AUTHORITIES.

Aboo'l-Féda.—Descriptio Peninsulæ Arabiæ.—Vide Geog. Vet. Scrip. Gr. Min. Tom. iii.

Agatharchides.—Periplus Rubri Maris, interprete Laurentio Rhodomano.—Vide Geog. Vet. Scrip. Gr. Min. Tom. i.

Ali Bey.—Travels in Morocco, Tripoli, Cyprus, Egypt, Arabia, and Syria, between 1803 and 1809.—London, 1816.

Arnaud.—Les Akhdam de l'Yemen, leur Origine probable, leurs Mœurs; par MM. Th. Arnaud et A. Vayesière.—Vide Journal Asiatique, Tom. xv. p. 376.—Paris, 1850.

Arrian.—Arriani Periplus Maris Erythræi; interprete Jo. Guil. Stuckio.—Vide Geog. Vet. Scrip. Gr. Min. Tom. i.

Assemanus.—Bibliotheca Orientalis.—Romæ, 1725.

Barthema.—Itinerario de Ludovico de Barthema; Stampato e Vinegia, 1535.—Also Navigation and Travels of Lewis Barthema or Vertomanus, into Egypt, Syria, Arabia, Persia, &c.; translated by Richard Eden in 1576.—Vide Purchas, vol. ii. p. 1483; Ker, vol. vii. p. 41.

Batuta.—Travels of Ibn Batuta; translated by the Rev. Samuel Lee, B.D.—London, 1829.

Burckhardt.—Notes on the Bedouins and Wahábies; by John Lewis Burckhardt.—London, 1830.—Also, Travels in Arabia; by the same Author.—London, 1829.

Castro.—The Voyage of Don Stephano de Gama from Goa to Suez, in 1540, with the intention of burning the Turkish Gallies in that Port; written by Don Juan de Castro, a Captain in the Fleet.—Vide Greene, vol. i. p. 107; Ker, vol. vi. p. 287.

Chesney.—The Expedition for the Survey of the Euphrates and Tigris, carried on by order of the British Government, in 1835, 1836, and 1837, by Lieutenant Colonel Chesney.—London, 1850.

Cloupet.—Noveau Voyage dans l'Arabie Heureuse, en 1788; par M. Cloupet de l'Ile de France.—Vide Annales des Voyages, de la Géographie et de l'Histoire; Paris, 1810, Tom. x. p. 154.

Crichton.—History of Arabia and its People.—London, 1852.

Cruttenden.—Journal of an Excursion to Sanäa, the Capital of Yemen; by Mr. C. J. Cruttenden, I. N.—Vide Journal of Bom. Geog. Soc. Sept. to Nov. 1838.

D'Herbelot.—Bibliothèque Orientale, ou Dictionnaire Universel contenant généralement tout ce que regarde la Connoissance des Peuples de l'Orient.—A Maestricht, 1776.

Eusebius.—The Ecclesiastical History of Eusebius Pamphilus; made English from that edition set forth by Valesius, and printed at Paris in 1659.—Cambridge, 1683.

Faria.—The Portugues Asia; or, the History of the Discovery and Conquest of India by the Portugues; written in Spanish by Manuel de Faria, and translated into English by John Stevens.—London, 1695.

Geog. Vet. Scrip. Gr. Min.—Geographiæ Veteris Scriptores Græci Minores.—Oxoniæ, MDCXCVIII.

Greene.—New General Collection of Voyages and Travels, consisting of the most esteemed Relations which have been hitherto published in any language, comprehending everything remarkable of its kind in Europe, Asia, Africa, and America. [*Anon., attributed to Greene.*]—London, 1745.

Haines.—Memoir to accompany a Chart of the South and East Coasts of Arabia; by Captain S. B. Haines, I. N.—Vide Journal of the Royal Geog. Society, vols. ix. and xv.

Haji Khalifeh.—History of the Maritime Wars of the Turks; translated from the Turkish of Haji Khalifeh by James Mitchel.—London, published for the Oriental Translation Fund, 1831.

Hamilton.—A new Account of the East Indies.—Edinburgh, 1727.

Hamza.—Hamzæ Ispahaniensis Annalium; edidit J. M. E. Gottwaldt: Tom. i. Textus Arabicus; Tom. ii. Translatio Latina.—Lepsiæ, MDCCCXLVIII.

Harris.—Navagantium atque Itinerantium Bibliotheca; or, a complete Collection of Voyages and Travels by John Harris, D.D., F.R.S.—London, 1744.

Irwin.—Series of Adventures in the course of a Voyage up the Red Sea, on the Coasts of Arabia and Egypt, in the year 1777; by Eyles Irwin, Esq., H.E.I.C.S.—London, 1780.

Jihán Numa.—Jihán Numa; translated by Dr. Aloys Sprenger.

Jubair.—Rassalat ibn Jubair; Arabic text, edited, from a MS. in the University Library of Leyden, by W. Wright.—Leyden, 1852.

Ker.—A General Collection of Voyages and Travels by Robert Ker, F.R.S., &c.—Edinburgh, 1812.

Khuzraji.—A MS. Translation of the History of Yemen by the Imám Ali bin Hoosain El-Khuzraji, in the Records of the Aden Political Residency; supposed to be by Captain Haines, I. N.

Knolles.—The Turkish History, from the Original of that Nation to the Growth of the Ottoman Empire; by Richard Knolles, with a continuation to the present year (1687) by Paul Rycaut.—London, 1687.

La Roque.—A Voyage to Arabia the Happy, by the way of the Eastern Ocean, and the Straits of the Red Sea, performed by the French for the first time in A.D. 1708, 1709, and 1710; together with a Relation of a Journey from the Port of Mokha to the Court of the King of Yemen, in A.D. 1711, 1712, and 1713; also an Account of the Coffee Tree.—London, 1726.

Marco Polo.—The Travels of Marco Polo; by Hugh Murray, F.R.S.E.—Edinburgh, 1844.

Masäoodi.—Kitab Merooj el Dthahab: the Historical Encyclopædia, entitled *The Meadows of Gold and Mines of Gems;* translated from the Arabic of El-Masäoodi, by Aloys Sprenger, M.D., and published for the Oriental Translation Fund.—London, 1841.

Mengin.—Histoire Soummaire de l'Egypt sous le Gouvernement de Mahommed Ali; par Felix Mengin.—Paris, 1839.

Middleton.—Sixth Voyage of the East India Company in 1610, under the Command of Sir Henry Middleton.—Vide Purchas, vol. i. p. 249; Ker, vol. viii. p. 361.

Mod. Univ. Hist.—Modern Universal History.—London, 1759.

MS. No. 6930. MS. No. 6930 of the Additional Manuscripts in the British Museum, entitled *Excerpta de Historia Arabum;* Arabic text and English translation.—Anon., without date.

Naima.—Annales of the Turkish Empire, from the Year 1591 to 1659 of the Christian Era, by Naima; translated from the Turkish by Charles Fraser.—London, published for the Oriental Translation Fund, 1832.

Neibuhr.—Description de l'Arabie; par Carsten Neibuhr.—A Amsterdam, 1774.—Also, Travels through Arabia, performed by M. Carsten Neibuhr; translated into English by Robert Heron.—Edinburgh, 1792.

Novis Orbis, &c.—Novis Orbis Regionarum ac Insularum Veteribus Incognitarum.—1555.

Pagitt.—Christianographie; or, the Description of the Multitude and Sundry Sorts of Christians in the World, not subject to the Pope; by Ephraim Pagitt.—London, 1636.

Parsons.—Travels in Asia and Africa, including a Voyage * * * from Bombay to Mokha and Suez, in the Red Sea; by Abraham Parsons, Esq.—London, 1808.

Percival.—Essai sur l'Histoire des Arabes avant l'Islamisme, pendant l'époque de Mahommed et jusqu'à la Reduction de toutes les Tribus sous la loi Musslemane; par A. P. Caussin de Percival.—Paris, 1847.—Also, Translation of Portions of the above Work in the Bombay Quarterly Magazine and Review, 1851 to 1853, vols. ii. iii.

Philostorgius.—Epitomé of the Ecclesiastical History of Philostorgius; compiled by Photius, Patriarch of Constantinople.—Vide Bohn's Eccl. Lib. 1854.

Playfair.—A System of Geography, Ancient and Modern; by James Playfair, D.D., F.R.S., and F.A.S., Edin., Principal of the United College of St. Andrews, and Historiographer to H. R. H. the Prince Regent.—Edinburgh, 1814.

Pocock.—Specimen Historiæ Arabum; auctore Edvardo Pocockio: accessit Historiæ Veterum Arabum, ex Aboo'l-Féda; Cura Antonii Sylvestre de Sacy; edidit Josephus White.—Oxonii, MDCCCVI.

Popham.—Concise Statement relative to the Treatment of Sir Home Popham, since his return from the Red Sea, together with his Naval, Military, and Commercial Correspondence.—London, 1805.

Purchas.—Purchas, his Pilgrimes.—London, 1625.

Records.—Records of the East India House, of the Government of Bombay, and of the Aden Political Residency.

Salt.—A Voyage to Abyssinia; by Henry Salt, Esq., F.R.S.—London, 1814.

Saris.—The Eighth Voyage of the English East India Company, in 1611; by Captain John Saris.—Vide Purchas, vol. i. p. 334; Ker, vol. viii. p. 465.

Sharpey.—Fourth Voyage of the East India Company in 1608; by Captain Alexander Sharpey.—Vide Purchas, vol. i. p. 230; Greene, vol. i. p. 343; Ker, vol. viii. p. 361.

Shilling.—Voyage of the *Anne Royall* from Surat to Mokha, in 1618.—Vide Purchas, vol. i. p. 622; Ker, vol. ix. p. 490.

Socrates Scholasticus.—The Ecclesiastical History of Socrates Scholasticus; translated out of Greek, according to the editions set forth by Valesius, and printed at Paris in 1668.—Cambridge, 1680.

Stern.—Narrative of the Journey of the Rev. A. Stern to Sanäa in 1856, contained in the Jewish Intelligence, vol. xxiii. pp. 101, 138, and 258.—1857.

Theodoret.—A History of the Church from A.D. 322 to A.D. 427; by Theodoret, Bishop of Cyprus.—Vide Bohn's Eccl. Lib.—London, 1854.

Valentia.—Voyages and Travels to India, Ceylon, the Red Sea, Abyssinia, and Egypt, in 1802—1806; by George, Viscount Valentia.—London, 1811.

Venetian Officer.—Particular Relation of the Expedition of Solyman Pasha from Suez to India, against the Portuguese of Diu; written by a Venetian Officer, who was pressed into the Turkish Service on that occasion.—Vide Greene, vol. i. p. 83; The Port. Asia, vol. i. p. 435; Ker, vol. vi. p. 257.

Vincent.—The Periplus of the Erythræan Sea, containing an Account of the Navigation of the Ancients; by Dean Vincent.—London, 1797—1800.

Wellsted.—Travels in Arabia; by Lieutenant Wellsted, I. N.—London, 1838.

Wright.—Early Christianity in Arabia: an Historical Essay; by Thomas Wright, M.A., F.S.A., &c.—London, 1855.

MAP
OF
YEMEN
Compiled by
Captain R.L. Playfair.
KOBA-EL-KHALI
(or the empty abode)
BENI KAHTAN
ABYDA
WEST KHAULAN
ABOO ARISH
SAHAN
AMASIA
HASHIDWA BEKEEL
TEHAMA
RED SEA
ASEERI
HEJAZ
Belad El Sohail
Dthu Mahomed
Dthu Hussein
ASAB
EL ASFAL
LAHEJ
ADEN
GULF OF ADEN
HADRAMAUT
Owalik el Alian
Desert of El Ahmar
Nejd
Hesi Yahlam
Hesi Yahum
Beled El Sohali
Tuffla
Barasi Tribe
Abeer
Kaidun
Mukalla
Shehr
Makalla
Aden
Lahej
Abyda
Amasia
Loheia
Mocha
Hodeida
Beit el Fakih
Zebid
Zebid R.
Mawza
Taiz
Sana
Kataba
Abu Arish
Jizan
Farasan Island
Farasan Harbour
Kamaran
Hali
Khamis
Abha
Sabia
Sabia R.
Wadi Sabia
Wadi Najran
Najran
Najran valley
Sand Hill (Tree Stumps?)
Sand Hills
Ruins
Ruins of Sanaa
Ruins of Aden Tank
Ruins of Aden Wall
Ruins of Aden Mosque
Ruins of Aden Temple
Ruins of Aden Fort
Ruins of Aden Gate
Ruins of Aden Tower
Ruins of Aden Church
Ruins of Aden Palace
Ruins of Aden Bridge
Ruins of Aden Aqueduct
Ruins of Aden Cistern
Ruins of Aden Well
Ruins of Aden Cemetery
Ruins of Aden Quarry
Ruins of Aden Kiln
Ruins of Aden Mill
Ruins of Aden Granary
Ruins of Aden Stable
Ruins of Aden Barracks
Ruins of Aden Hospital
Ruins of Aden School
Ruins of Aden Library
Ruins of Aden Museum
Ruins of Aden Theatre
Ruins of Aden Hotel
Ruins of Aden Inn
Ruins of Aden Shop
Ruins of Aden Market
Ruins of Aden Bazaar
Ruins of Aden Square
Ruins of Aden Garden
Ruins of Aden Park
Ruins of Aden Fountain
Ruins of Aden Statue
Ruins of Aden Monument
Ruins of Aden Tomb
Ruins of Aden Grave
Ruins of Aden Cemetery
Ruins of Aden Quarry
Ruins of Aden Kiln
Ruins of Aden Mill
Ruins of Aden Granary
Ruins of Aden Stable
Ruins of Aden Barracks
Ruins of Aden Hospital
Ruins of Aden School
Ruins of Aden Library
Ruins of Aden Museum
Ruins of Aden Theatre
Ruins of Aden Hotel
Ruins of Aden Inn
Ruins of Aden Shop
Ruins of Aden Market
Ruins of Aden Bazaar
Ruins of Aden Square
Ruins of Aden Garden
Ruins of Aden Park
Ruins of Aden Fountain
Ruins of Aden Statue
Ruins of Aden Monument
Ruins of Aden Tomb
Ruins of Aden Grave

A HISTORY OF ARABIA FELIX, OR YEMEN.

CHAPTER I.

GENERAL REMARKS ON YEMEN.

The ancient Greek and Roman geographers were in the habit of dividing Arabia into three great provinces,—Arabia Felix, Arabia Petrea, and Arabia Deserta: the first nearly corresponding to the modern Yemen, but including Mahra, and Hadramaut; the second the modern Hejáz; and the third extending north-east from Arabia Felix as far as the Euphrates. These divisions, however, were purely arbitrary, and neither known to nor recognised by the inhabitants of the country.

Some oriental authors have included the whole peninsula within the two provinces of Yemen and Hejáz, while others have divided it into five, namely, Yemen, Hejáz, Nejd, the Tehámа, and Yemáma. Hadramaut, Mahra, Shehr, and Oman have also been reckoned independent provinces by some, while many include them in the two great divisions, Yemen and Hejáz.*

Yemen Proper, as now recognised, forms the southern portion of the Arabian peninsula. It is bounded on the south by that portion of the Indian Ocean known as the Gulf of Aden; on the west by the Red Sea; on the north by the Hejáz and the Desert of Ahkáf; and on the east by the province of Hadramaut. It is naturally separated into two divisions,—the low country, styled the Tehámа, which is parallel to the sea coast; and the Interior, or mountainous region between it and the Great Arabian Desert. The former, which signifies a warm or maritime region,† is the tract intervening between the mountains and the sea; it extends in length from the Gulf of Akaba to the Straits of Bab-el-Mandeb, and is divided into two portions, the Tehámas of the Hejáz and of Yemen. The latter varies in breadth from thirty to eighty

* Burkhardt's Travels, vol. i. p. 10.

† Bruce, vol. ii. p. 198.

miles; the soil is poor and arid, covered in many places with marine shells and coral, and bears unmistakeably the appearance of having been a recent recovery from the sea. That the sea has greatly receded, even within the limits of history, is proved by the position of the ancient seaport of Mooza, formerly one of the principal emporia of the trade of Yemen, but now situated twenty-three miles inland, north of the modern city of Mokha. In like manner Ghalifika, the port of Zebeed, Okelis, and many others along the coast of the Red Sea, have filled up and been deserted.

This district has few perennial springs, but is watered in some places by mountain torrents, which, descending from the high land, flow during the greater portion of the year, and in the beds of which, even in seasons of the greatest drought, water can be obtained by digging a few feet below the surface of the ground. It is not unusual in the Tehâma for whole years to pass without any rain, save a few gentle showers, and in such cases the hill torrents are absorbed long ere they reach the sea; but the heavy dews are usually sufficient to refresh the parched soil, and prevent an absolute famine. Here cereals and vegetables are produced in tolerable abundance, but the soil is not well suited for the growth of fruit.

Parallel to the sea coast are a number of islands, and a multitude of coral reefs and islets.*

The mountainous region comprehends the finest and most fertile parts of the peninsula, and forms a striking contrast to the arid and sandy plains which occur on the littoral of the Red Sea. It extends over the crest and slopes of the great mountain chain which traverses the country in a south-easterly direction, increasing in elevation towards the south, and, from the abundance of its grain, coffee, vines, and fruits, and all the productions which constitute the chief wealth of an agricultural country, as well as from its salubrious climate and abundance of water, it has well merited the title of "Happy."†

Beyond these mountains, stretching to the Euphrates, is the Desert of Ahkâf, which was said to have been a terrestrial paradise until converted, on account of the impiety of its inhabitants, into a waste of sand.‡

Yemen does not appear to be rich in mineral wealth, though iron is found in many places, and occasionally worked by the inhabitants: gold mines were anciently wrought, but, in the present day, no trace of the precious metal exists, even amongst the sands of the mountain torrents.

Yemen was probably the first province of Arabia occupied during the western spread of mankind; it has the double signification of *right* or *south* (looking towards Syria), and of *happiness* or prosperity. It is said that when

* Chesney, vol. i. p. 610. † Chesney, vol. i. p. 614.

‡ Ibn-el-Ouardi, p. 46.

the sons of Kahtán, the descendant of Shem, settled in this region, the Arabs said,—"The sons of Kahtán will be happy"; from which circumstance the name of the province has been derived. This limited tract soon extended, and became the seat of the Himyarite kingdom, and was subsequently known as the Country of the Sabeans. Under the name of Arabia Felix, it gradually increased, and, according to Ptolemy, its boundaries were, on the north, Arabia Petrea and part of Arabia Deserta; on the east, the Euphrates and the Persian Gulf; on the south, the Arabian Sea and Indian Ocean; and on the west, the Arabian Gulf.*

It has been famous from all antiquity for the richness and fertility of its soil, the salubrity of its climate, the number and wealth of its inhabitants, the magnificence of its public buildings, and the splendour of its court. Alexander the Great resolved on conquering it, and fixing his royal residence there, after his return from India; but his untimely death prevented the execution of this project.

Commercial intercourse between this country and Syria existed at a period long anterior to the oldest profane historical records. The inspired writer, in enumerating the glories of Tyre, says,—"Arabia, and all the princes of Kedar, they occupied with thee in lambs, and rams, and goats: in these were they thy merchants. The merchants of Sheba† and Raamah,‡ they were thy merchants: they occupied in thy fairs with chief of all spices, and with all precious stones, and gold. Haran,§ and Canneh,‖ and Eden,¶ the merchants of Sheba, Asshur, and Chilmad,** were thy merchants."††

But in addition to its aromatic gums and other rich natural productions, which supplied the markets of Egypt and Phœnicia, a vast amount of wealth flowed into the country from exterior sources. From the earliest ages up to the sixteenth century, when the Portuguese doubled the Cape of Good Hope, and were the means of diverting the Indian trade to that route, its harbours, and particularly that of Aden, were the emporia of an extensive trade between the countries bordering the Mediterranean, and India, Persia, and the countries of the further East.

Little light is thrown on the early history of Arabia by ancient authors, except at uncertain and remote intervals; and the Greek and Latin authors are for the most part by no means accurate either in their geography or historical details. Strabo asserts that Arabia Felix was divided into four distinct provinces, the succession of whose kings was fixed neither by primogeniture nor

* Chesney, vol. i. p. 656.
‡ Rema, modern Reima.
‖ Canneh or Cane Emporium, modern Makulla.
** Not identified.
† Saba, modern Urd-es-Saba.
§ Not identified as a city of Arabia.
¶ Probably Aden.
†† Ezekiel, xxvii. 21 to 23.

royal descent; but the right was confined to certain families, and that the first male child born after the commencement of a reign was considered heir to the throne.

Under the Himyarite Tobbas, Yemen was subject to one sovereign; but there existed many provinces and divisions, which owned subjection only to their own petty chiefs, who in their turn usually acknowledged the suzerainty of the reigning prince.

The religion of the Sabeans resembled that of the idolatrous nations who surrounded them: they addressed their devotions to numerous deities, of which the principal were represented by the sun, moon, and stars; but there were many who acknowledged one deity as the supreme Lord of the universe. They believed in the immortality of the soul, and a future state of rewards and punishments; while many held the doctrine of transmigration.* Arabian authors who lived with the Sabeans state unanimously that they worshipped the seven planets,† and that their faith did not materially differ from that of the Chaldeans.

At the present day, Yemen can hardly be said to have any government at all, with the exception of the maritime districts which own the sway of England and Turkey. The remainder of the country is parcelled out amongst numberless petty chiefs, who exercise a patriarchal government over a greater or less extent of territory, which is frequently, again, subdivided into several smaller portions under their own Sheikhs, who are virtually independent, though owning a certain amount of subjection to their feudal chiefs.

The following are the principal provinces into which Yemen may be divided:—‡

1, Aden; 2, The Tehâma; 3, Sanäa; 4, Láhej; 5, Kaukebán; 6, Belád-el-Kabáil, or Háshid-wa-Bekeel; 7, Aboo Areesh; 8, a large district between Aboo Areesh and the Hejáz, inhabited by free Bedouins; 9, Khaulán; 10, Sahán, including the principality of Säadeh; 11, Nejrán; 12, Nehm; 13, East Khaulán, consisting of several small principalities; 14, Belád-el-Jeháf, or Máreb; and 15, Yaffa.

These are, as nearly as they can be classified, the great political divisions of the country; but numerous smaller states and tribes exist, which cannot be classed with propriety in any of the above districts, yet which are too insignificant to require a separate notice.

* Wright, p. 8. † Mas'udi, i. p. 218.

‡ These are very nearly as given by Neibuhr.

CHAPTER II.

ADEN.

The British settlement of Aden, which is almost the most southerly point on the Arabian coast, is situated in lat. 12° 47′ N., and long. 45° 10′ E. It is a peninsula of about fifteen miles in circumference, of an irregular oval form, five miles in its greater, and three in its lesser diameter, connected with the continent by a low narrow neck of land, 1,350 yards in breadth, but which is in one place nearly covered by the sea at high spring tides.

It consists of a large crater, formed by lofty and precipitous hills, the highest peak of which has an altitude of 1,775 feet: these, on the exterior sides, slope towards the sea, throwing out numerous spurs, which form a series of valleys, radiating from a common centre.

The town and part of the military cantonments are within the crater, and consequently surrounded on all sides by hills, save on the eastern face, where a gap exists, opposite the fortified island of Seerah, the appearance of which would induce the belief that this rock had at one time completed the circle, but that, having been separated by some convulsion of nature, it had been carried out and deposited in the sea, a few hundred yards in advance of the gap caused by its removal. The inlet thus caused is known by the name of Front or East Bay.

The crater has also been cleft from north to south, and the rents thus produced are called the Northern and Southern Passes; the former, better known as the Main Pass, is the only entrance into the town from the interior or harbour.

The principal harbour, or Back Bay, is the space between the northern shore of the peninsula and the south coast of the continent. It is about three miles wide at the entrance, and affords an admirable shelter in all weather for vessels which do not draw more than twenty feet of water. It is unsurpassed by any on the Arabian or adjacent African coasts, being capacious, easily made, and free from rocks and shoals.

The formation of Aden is purely volcanic, and bears the appearance of having been in recent activity, though this presumption is not confirmed either by history or tradition. The peninsula must have originally been an island, and gradually connected by an accumulation of sand in the narrow strait which intervened between it and the mainland.

Aden has been described by Ibn Batuta as a large city without either seed, water, or tree*; but is not so entirely destitute of vegetation as might be inferred from this description. Many of the valleys are thickly studded with small trees and shrubs, producing beautiful flowers, and it is no uncommon circumstance for the inhabitants of Sheikh Othman, a village distant about four miles from the British frontier, to send their goats and camels to find pasturage amongst the valleys on the west side of the peninsula, when none is procurable in their own district.

Water of a good quality, but in limited quantities, is found at the head of the valleys within the crater and to the west of the town. As the wells approach the sea, they become more and more brackish, and those within the town are unfit for any purpose save ablution.

These are in number about one hundred and fifty, of which probably fifty are potable, and yield an aggregate quantity of about fifteen thousand gallons per diem. They are sunk in the solid rock to a depth of from one hundred and twenty to one hundred and eighty-five feet, and in the best one the water stands at a depth of seventy feet below the sea level.†

An inexhaustible supply of water is procurable on the northern coast of the harbour, but the difficulty of bringing it into Aden, and its liability to be cut off by hostile Arabs, renders it almost unavailable.

The wells are all of recent construction, many of the best having been excavated since the British conquest, and the oldest does not date further back than A. H. 906 (A. D. 1,500). Previous to this period, the place was supplied partly by means of reservoirs, and partly by an aqueduct which communicated with a well in the interior.

The expedient of constructing reservoirs in which to store rain-water has prevailed in Arabia from a very early date. These are generally found in localities devoid of springs, and dependent on the winter rains for a supply of water during the summer months. The most remarkable instance on record is the great dam of Máreb,‡ built about 1,700 years before the Christian era: this doubtless suggested similar reservoirs in other parts of Arabia, and the neighbouring coasts of Africa, which have usually been subject to it. All the

* Ibn Batuta, p. 55.

† The Banian well, the best in Aden, is 185 feet deep, the bottom is 70 feet below the level of the sea, and, before being drawn, it contains about 4,000 gallons. The temperature of the water is 102° Fahr., the specific gravity ·999, and it contains 1·16 parts of saline matter in every 2,000. The wells within the town have an unlimited supply at from 30 to 40 feet, but the water contains as much as 10 parts of saline matter in 2,000, and is therefore unfit for drinking.

‡ Described in Chapter VIII. page 41.

travellers who have penetrated Yemen describe many such in the mountainous district, and others exist in the islands of Säad-ed-din, near Zailah, in Kutto, in the Bay of Amphila, and in Dhalák, near Massowah.

Those in Aden are about fifty in number, and, when cleared out, will have an aggregate capacity of nearly thirty million imperial gallons.

There is no certain record of the construction of these reservoirs, but it is probable that they were first commenced about the second Persian invasion of Yemen, in A. D. 600. It is certain that they cannot be attributed to the Turks, as the Venetian officer who described the expedition of the Rais Suleiman in 1538, the first occasion of Aden being conquered by that nation, says,—"They (the inhabitants of Aden) have none but rain-water, which is preserved in cisterns and pits one hundred fathoms deep."* Ibn Batuta also mentions this fact as being the case in his day.† Mr. Salt, who visited Aden in 1809, thus describes the tanks as they existed at that period:—"Amongst the ruins, some fine remains of ancient splendour are to be met with, but these only serve to cast a deeper shade over the desolation of the scene. The most remarkable of these reservoirs consists of a line of cisterns situated on the north-west side of the town, three of which are fully eighty feet wide, and proportionably deep, all excavated out of the solid rock, and lined with a thick coat of fine stucco, which externally bears a strong resemblance to marble. A broad aqueduct may still be traced, which formerly conducted the water to these cisterns, from a deep ravine in the mountain above; higher up is another, still entire, which at the time we visited it was partly filled with water. Some Arab children, who followed us in our excursions, were highly pleased when we arrived at the spot, and, plunging headlong into the water, much amused us with their sportive tricks." When Captain Haines, then engaged in a survey of the Arabian coast, visited Aden in 1835, several of the reservoirs appear still to have been in a tolerably perfect state; besides the hanging tanks, or those built high upon the hills, several large ones were traceable round the town: but from the British occupation until very lately, no steps having been taken to repair or preserve them from further destruction, they became entirely filled up with stones and soil washed down from the hills by the rain; the people of the town had been permitted to carry away the stones for building purposes; and, with the exception of a very few, which could not easily be destroyed or concealed, all trace of them was lost, save where here and there a fragment of plaster, appearing above the ground, indicated the supposed position of a reservoir, believed to be ruined beyond the possibility of repair. Within the last three years, the restoration of these magnificent

* Greene, vol. i. p. 91.

† Ibn Batuta, p. 55.

public works has been undertaken, and already thirteen have been completed, capable of holding upwards of eight million gallons of water.

It is almost impossible to give such a description of these extraordinary buildings as will enable one who has not seen, thoroughly to understand them. A glance at the plan of Aden will show that the range of hills which forms the wall of the crater is nearly circular: on the western side, the hills are very precipitous, and the rain-water descending from them is carried rapidly to the sea by means of a number of long narrow valleys, unconnected with each other; on the interior or eastern side, the hills are quite as abrupt, but the descent is broken by a large table-land, occurring midway between the summit and the sea level, which occupies about one-fourth of the entire superficies of Aden. This plateau is intersected by numerous ravines, nearly all of which converge into one valley, which thus receives a large proportion of the drainage of the peninsula.

The steepness of the hills, the hardness of the rocks, and the scarceness of the soil upon them, all combine to prevent any great amount of absorption, and thus a very moderate fall of rain suffices to send a stupendous torrent of water down the valley, which, ere it reaches the sea, not unfrequently attains the proportions of a river.

To collect and store this water, the reservoirs were constructed. They are extremely fantastic in their shapes: some are formed by a dyke being built across the gorge of a valley; in others, the soil in front of a re-entering angle in the hill has been removed, and a salient angle or curve of masonry built in front of it, while every feature of the adjacent rocks has been taken advantage of and connected by small aqueducts, to ensure no water being lost. The overflow of one tank has been conducted into the succeeding one, and thus a complete chain has been formed, reaching to the very heart of the town. These reservoirs were filled for the first time on the 23rd October 1857, when, though a very small proportion of the whole had been repaired, more water was collected from a single fall of rain than the whole of the wells would yield during an entire year.

The annual fall of rain in Aden is very limited, seldom exceeding six or seven inches; it is manifest, therefore, that a large city could not entirely depend on this precarious source of supply. To remedy this defect, the sovereign of Yemen, Melek-el-Mansoor Táj-ed-din Abd-el-Wahâb bin Táhir, towards the close of the fifteenth century, constructed an aqueduct to convey the water of the Bir Hameed into Aden. The remains of this work are still visible, though it has long been ruined and disused.

At present, the scarcity of the water supply is a subject of anxious consideration. The expense of introducing water into Aden is too great to place that

necessary element within the means of the poorer classes; the country around is in too unsettled a state to render it advisable to restore the aqueduct; and it has been found that increasing the number of the wells does not proportionately increase the supply: the only remaining resource is to erect a condensing apparatus, and this course is about to be tried as an experiment.

The climate of Aden during the north-east monsoon, or from October to April, is cool and agreeable; during the remainder of the year hot sandy winds, known as *shamál* or north, indicating the direction whence they come, prevail within the crater; but on the western side, or Steamer Point, the breezes, coming directly off the sea, are cool and refreshing, and that locality is accordingly much frequented by the European residents. The shamál is exceedingly oppressive, and the early voyagers to Arabia were not a little frightened at it. Vanden Broeck, who visited Aden in 1614, thus describes one which he witnessed:—"About noonday there came upon the earth a surprising darkness, followed by a very heavy rain, and in the further extremity of that terrible cloud, a very bright red, that might almost be mistaken for a fiery oven. The cloud continued to roll away towards Ethiopia, the rain ceased, and we were surprised to find our vessel covered with red sand, to the thickness of a finger's breadth. Some intelligent inhabitants informed us that these winds were formed of the sea-sand, and often buried whole caravans."*

This is a tolerably accurate description of the shamál, except that it is not usually accompanied by rain, nor is it ever so serious in its results.

Severe forms of fever, dysentery, and other diseases of tropical climates, are not very common in Aden, and cholera is almost unknown. This scourge has only once occurred there since the British conquest, and only twice within the limits of history. One of the most prevalent diseases is the Yemen ulcer, which usually attacks such as unite hard bodily exercise with poor and insufficient diet: it seldom yields to medical treatment in the locality where it has been contracted, but a change of air is frequently beneficial.

Scurvy is also prevalent, and may, in a great measure, be attributed to the saline quality of the water. This disease has, however, prevailed in Arabia from the earliest ages of which we have any authentic record. The army of Ælius Gallus, which invaded Arabia about the thirtieth year before the Christian era, was delayed for nearly a year at Lenkè Komè by this malady, which historians describe as a swelling of the gums, thighs, and legs, and which carried off many of the soldiers.†

Small-pox in former years committed great ravages in this and other parts of Yemen; but since the introduction of vaccination, and vigorous measures

* Hist. Gen. des Voyages, vol. xxxi. p. 426.

† Harris, vol. i. p. 427.

to prevent the infection spreading, it has greatly diminished. Inoculation has long been known and practised in Arabia, but without much beneficial effect.

A terrible species of leprosy is also common throughout Yemen, attacking the joints of the hands and feet, which are frequently entirely eaten away. It does not so frequently appear amongst the pure Arabs as amongst the servile races, known as Khádim and Hoojeree.

Aden was anciently one of the most celebrated cities of Arabia, and owed its riches and importance to being the general entrepôt of the great carrying trade which existed between India, Persia, Arabia, and Africa, and the various nations of Europe, Egypt, and Phœnicia. Ships from the east conveyed the treasures of their respective countries thither, for transmission up the Red Sea, by means of smaller craft, to the ports of Egypt; rich caravans brought to it the produce of the thuriferous regions, and merchants from all parts of the east and west formed there commercial establishments, and imported the goods of their various lands, either for consumption in the country or to be forwarded to the further east. The author of the *Periplus of the Erythræan Sea* informs us that, shortly before his time, Arabia Felix, or Aden, had been destroyed by the Romans; and Dean Vincent is of opinion that the Cæsar in whose reign this event took place was Claudius. The object of destroying so flourishing a port is not difficult to determine:—from the time that the Romans first visited Arabia under Ælius Gallus, they had always maintained a footing on the shores of the Red Sea; and it is probable that Claudius, being desirous of appropriating the Indian trade to the Romans, sought a pretext for quarrel with Aden, in order that he might, by its destruction, divert the Indian trade to the ports of Egypt: this he was the more confident of effecting, as the direct passage across the Indian Ocean had been discovered, some time previously, by Hippalus, a Greek of Alexandria.

In the time of Constantine, Aden had recovered its former splendour, and, as a conquest of the Roman empire, it received the name of Romanum Emporium.

The Venetian officer who chronicles the expedition of Suleiman Pasha to India in 1538, and who compulsorily served in that admiral's fleet, thus describes Aden:—"It is very strong, and stands by the sea side, surrounded by exceeding high mountains, on the tops of which are little castles or forts. It is encompassed also with ravelins on every side (excepting a little opening, about three hundred paces wide, for a road into the country and to the shore), with gates, towers, and good walls. Besides this, there lies a shoal* before the city, on which is built a fort, and at the foot of it a tower,† for the defence of the

* The Island of Seerah. † Seerah Mole.

port, which lies to the south, and has two fathoms of water; to the north there is another harbour, with good anchorage, covered from all winds. There is plenty of good water here; the soil is dry, producing no kind of things; they have none but rain-water, which is preserved in cisterns and pits one hundred fathoms deep."*

Aden continued to monopolise the Indian trade till the sixteenth century, when the naval enterprise of the Portuguese, having opened a new route to India, by the Cape of Good Hope, this lucrative commerce was diverted from its ancient channel, and the only bond of connexion between Aden and Europe was in a great measure dissolved.

In 1708 M. de Merveille, leader of an expedition sent out to the Red Sea by a French commercial company of St. Malo, landed here. The town was then still surrounded by high walls, which were, however, in a very bad state, especially on the sea face. These were strengthened by five or six batteries of brass guns of large calibre, left behind by the Turks on their evacuation of the peninsula. The isthmus was defended by a fort at the head, with guards stationed at intervals; and within gun-shot of this was another fort, with forty pieces of large ordnance, mounted on several batteries; between this and the city was another fort, with twelve guns.

The city contained several handsome edifices, but it was much encumbered by rubbish and ruins. Amongst the most remarkable of the buildings were handsome baths, lined with marble and jasper, and covered with a dome, having a hole at the top to admit the light. The building was adorned in the inside with galleries supported by magnificent pillars, and was divided into chambers, closets, and other vaulted rooms.

In the markets were good stores of meat, fish, and other necessaries, and water was conveyed into the town by means of the aqueduct from Bir Hameed, which led into a large cistern, from which the inhabitants were supplied, there being no wells in the place.†

Mr. Salt describes the city, in 1809, as being still of considerable importance as a place of trade; it was the chief mart for the gums brought over by the Somálie traders from the north-east districts of Africa. Coffee of the best quality was procurable, though not so expeditiously, as at Mokha; the town was a wretched heap of ruins and miserable huts, but exhibiting some fine remains of ancient splendour.

The ruin of Aden appears to have been complete when it was visited by Captain Haines, of the Indian Navy, in 1835. He describes it as being a wretched village, built on the ruins of the ancient city, containing about ninety stone houses, in a dilapidated state, and several mosques, only one of which

* Greene, vol. i. p. 91. † La Roque.

was in repair; the remainder of the houses were of mats and reeds, its trade was annihilated, its reservoirs in ruins, its wells brackish, and the streets and harbour almost deserted. It had a population of from five to six hundred souls, of whom one hundred and eighty were Jews, thirty or forty Banians, and the remainder Arabs and Somálies. The Sultan usually resided at Láhej, leaving the peninsula in joint charge of a governor and a collector of customs, with a force of about fifty Bedouins. The revenues did not exceed twelve thousand dollars annually.

How great the contrast between this gloomy picture and its present state under British rule. Ever since the conquest in 1839, its rise has been rapidly progressive: a neat and well-built town has superseded the former miserable village; the population has increased from 500 to 25,000; while the value of the trade, including imports and exports, amounts to upward of a million sterling per annum.*

This highly satisfactory result is owing to the security afforded under the British flag to property and person, and the wise policy of the Indian Government in declaring it a free port;† so that merchants have not only a noble harbour in which their vessels can lie in safety in all seasons, but they are enabled to dispose of their goods at remunerative prices, and purchase return cargoes without being subject to the exactions and vexatious regulations of the Turkish ports in the Red Sea.

Many of the remains of former magnificence are still to be seen, though the ruins of the splendid baths described by M. de Merveille can nowhere be traced: every commanding point, and almost every mountain summit, is crowned with the ruins of a fort, which probably dates as far back as the Himyarite empire; a broad paved path, not unlike a Roman military road,

* The trade for the official year ending 31st May 1858 was as follows:—

Imports,—Goods	Rs.	47,78,677	
Treasure		22,41,798	
			70,20,475
Exports,—Goods	Rs.	28,36,374	
Treasure		15,98,674	
			44,35,048
Grand Total	Rupees		1,14,55,523

This, compared with the preceding year, exhibits an increase of Rs. 26,30,698 during the year 1857-58.

† The port of Aden was declared free by Act X. of 1850. The result is as follows:—During the seven years preceding the opening of the port, the total value of trade amounted to Rs. 1,30,95,578, that of the last year exceeding the first by Rs. 10,17,268. During the seven years immediately after the port had been opened, the value of the trade aggregated Rs. 4,21,97,337, the last year exceeding the first by Rs. 59,07,448.

leads to the top of Shumshum, the highest peak; and sufficient of the seaward defences exists to attest the original strength and solidity of those works.

Curious coins have frequently been found after heavy rains, and on one occasion a Himyaritic inscription was discovered twenty feet below the level of the present town. This was a circular slab of pure white marble, and appeared to be a commemorative tablet.* The Mahomedan cemetery contained several tombs inlaid with jasper tablets and curiously inscribed slabs, but these have for the most part disappeared.

All the ancient defensive works have been abandoned, and the place has been entirely re-fortified, and it now holds a very respectable position amongst our oriental fortresses: strong by nature, immense sums of money and the highest engineering skill have been expended to render it impregnable to any probable attack; and it may be confidently asserted that nothing short of a large European army and fleet, supplied with a complete siege train, could succeed in reducing it.

The isthmus is guarded by massive lines of defence, strengthened by a broad, deep ditch, bastions, demi-bastions, redans, and casemates, armed with heavy ordnance; this line is divided into two parts by a hill, through which communication is maintained by means of a tunnel. A line of scarp running along the Mansoorie range of hills, defended by batteries and towers, connects the two ends of the isthmus defences, and completes the *enceinte* of the defensible position. Within it are located the arsenal, magazine, barracks for a portion of the garrison, capacious water-tanks, which are in process of being connected, by a second tunnel, with the wells and reservoirs near the town, and other public buildings. It is also in contemplation to erect a condensing apparatus there, to guard against any possible failure of water in times of necessity.

The seaward defences consist of strong, heavily armed martello towers, casemated and open batteries on the hills, and *à fleur d'eau*, as well as on the adjacent islands, together with piers of obstruction and other subservient works. Barracks for the remainder of the garrison are built on the sea-face near the town, and at Steamer Point. The treasury, jail, churches, and other public buildings are situated near the town.

The population consists of about 25,000 souls; but the difficulty of inducing Mahomedans to state exactly the number in their households, especially of their females, renders an accurate census a matter of considerable difficulty. The following were actually enumerated on the 1st of January 1856; but there

* Since the above was written, another Himyaritic inscription has been discovered on the top of Ras Tarshaine.

is every reason to believe that the numbers are understated, and that the population has since considerably increased:—

Christians	1,129
Indian Mahomedans	2,557
Arabian ditto	4,812
African ditto	3,627
Other ditto	58
Hindoos	5,611
Parsees	61
Jews	1,224
Miscellaneous	1,659
Total....	20,738

The Christians are almost exclusively European soldiers, their families and followers, Government employés, and a few of the mercantile community.

Of the Indian Mahomedans, at least two-thirds are those who, having left their native country for the purpose of performing the pilgrimage, have settled in Aden *en route* to, or returning from, Mecca. The remainder are Borah and Maimon merchants, sepoys, and domestic servants.

Only 965 of the Arabs are the original inhabitants of Aden and their families; the largest class are the Jebelies, or inhabitants of the hill country of Yemen, who come in search of employment as labourers; the remainder are small traders, brokers, fishermen, &c.

Of the African Mahomedans, 2,600 are Somálies, who subsist as they best can—many of them without any apparent calling, or even the shelter of a roof: they usually remain but a short time in Aden, and return to their native country when they have amassed a small competency. Some, however, are permanent residents. The Somálies are a purely nomadic race, totally unacquainted with agriculture, and subsisting chiefly on the produce of their inexhaustible flocks and herds. They trade in sheep, cattle, ponies, ghee, gums, hides, &c. which they bring from the interior to the great annual fairs held at Berbera and other places on their coast, or themselves bring to Aden during the north-east monsoon. At other seasons, when the sea is too dangerous for their small craft to venture across, they proceed inland to tend their flocks, and collect gum, myrrh, ostrich feathers, ivory, &c. for the next season's trading.

They are a good-tempered, though lazy and indolent race, but easily excited to anger; on which account they cannot even be trusted to carry sticks. In their own country, they are much addicted to plunder; in Aden, they are inveterate thieves and gamblers, and require to be watched with the greatest

care. In person they are handsome, active, and long-limbed; of a purely Caucasian caste of features, capable of undergoing great privation and fatigue, but not easily induced to engage in hard manual labour; nevertheless some, tempted by high wages, take employment as out-door servants, and on board the coal vessels in the harbour. Their personal appearance is not unfrequently rendered extremely grotesque, from their habit of staining the hair of a red colour, and teazing it out into a woolly mass; but their carriage is always graceful, and the drapery of their dress picturesque.

The majority of the other African races are escaped slaves, who obtain their livelihood by working at the coal depôts, or as sailors.

Amongst the head "miscellaneous" is included a very remarkable race, considerable numbers of whom flock to Aden. It is the Khádim, or, as written in the plural, Akhdám, signifying slave or servant; and thereby denoting that this race is politically and socially inferior to the native Arab.

They are only to be found in Yemen, and do not extend further than the country of the Aseer on the north, and Belád-el-Jeháf on the east,—in fact, in that part of the country which included the dominions proper of the ancient Himyarite Tobbas. Physically, they differ considerably from the Arabs, and bear a greater resemblance to the races which inhabit the African coast. They have smooth hair, with a very dark complexion; their nose is aquiline, their lips thick; their stature is greater than that of the Arab,—the latter are thin and angular, the former rounded, with a predisposition to obesity. They are considered in Yemen in the same light as are the Pariahs in India. They are not admitted to eat with Arabs, nor can a Khádim marry an Arab woman. They are condemned to the most servile or ignominious occupations, such as musicians, blacksmiths, public criers, &c.; and their women have usually a lower stamp of character than the men.

Their origin is involved in obscurity. It has been suggested that they are the remnant of the ancient Himyarites, or the descendants of the Persian conquerors of Yemen; but the probability is that both these suppositions are erroneous, and that the legend related to M. D'Arnaud, but which he discredits, is more nearly an approach to the truth; it is as follows:—"When the Arabs succeeded in shaking off the Abyssinian yoke (which they did with the assistance of the Persians), a number of Ethiopian families were scattered over the country. The Arabs, in order to perpetuate the remembrance of their victory, condemned them to the condition of serfs. Their chief men were subjected to a more infamous degradation,—they became barbers from father to son."*

This race in Aden occupy a quarter of the town by themselves, and obtain

* D'Arnaud's Les Akhdám de l'Yemen.

a livelihood as musicians in low coffee-shops, sweepers, and other occupations which are considered of a degrading character.

The Hindoos number nearly one-quarter of the whole population; these are for the most part sepoys and workmen in the engineer department. Another class is the Banians, who are wealthy and respectable merchants, and have for centuries monopolised a great part of the African trade.

The Jews are a most interesting race; they have existed in large colonies in Arabia ever since the captivity. In no country have they preserved their nationality more completely, though surrounded for centuries by hostile Mahomedan tribes.

Their own tradition asserts, that during the invasion of Palestine by Nebuchadnezzar, they fled to Egypt, and subsequently wandered further south, till they came to the mountains of Arabia, where they permanently established their homes. The fertility of the soil, the salubrity of the climate, and the picturesqueness of the scenery, rapidly caused the little colony to increase, by attracting fresh emigrants, who sought that peace which their own distracted country no longer afforded. Inured to hardships, and nursed in war, these foreign colonists soon gained an ascendancy over the wild Arab tribes by whom they were surrounded, and in a little time the exiles of Judea reigned where they had before only been tolerated. But the introduction of Mahomedanism materially altered their position, and severe enactments converted their once prosperous towns and villages into charnel-houses. Notwithstanding this persecution, however, every valley and mountain range still contains vast numbers of this despised but undying race, who number not less than 200,000 souls.*

The Jews are filthy in the extreme in their persons and habitations, and even the more wealthy of the community are nearly as uncleanly and parsimonious as their poorer brethren. The principal trades which they pursue in Aden are those of masons, builders of reed and mat houses, and workers in silver and ostrich feathers.

In other parts of Arabia, they are the most active, industrious, and hard-working people in the country: debarred from the cultivation of the soil, they have become the monopolisers of every useful art and every branch of trade; yet in the bazars and streets, wherever one wanders, the haggard, wan, and care-worn Jew is the most pitiable object.†

Attached to the Government of Aden is the island of Perim, which it may not be out of place here to describe. It is called by the author of the *Periplus* the island of Diodorus, and is known amongst the Arabs as Mayoon. It is situated in the Straits of Bab-el-Mandeb, a mile and a half from the

* Jewish Intelligence, vol. xxiii. p. 146. † Idem, p. 147.

Arabian, and eleven miles from the African coast. The formation is purely volcanic, and consists of long, low, and gradually sloping ranges of hills, surrounding an excellent and capacious harbour, about a mile and a half in length, half a mile in breadth, and with a varying depth of from four to six fathoms in the best anchorages. The hills have formerly been intersected with bays and indentures, which in the course of time have been filled up with coral and sand, and are now low plains, scantily covered with salsola, sea lavender, wild mignonette, and other plants which delight in a salt sandy soil. These plains occupy about one-fourth of the island, and occur principally on the north side. The rocks, which are all igneous, are nowhere exposed, save where they dip perpendicularly into the sea; they are covered with a layer of volcanic mud, of from two to six feet in depth, above which is another layer of loose boulders, or masses of black vesicular lava, in some places so thickly set as to resemble a rude pavement. The highest point of the island is 245 feet above the level of the sea.

All endeavours to procure water upon it have failed, and but a scanty supply is procurable from the adjacent coasts. Water-tanks have been constructed, which are chiefly supplied from Aden, and it is proposed to erect reservoirs to collect the rain, as well as a condensing apparatus.

Perim has never been permanently occupied by any nation save the British. Albuquerque landed upon it in 1513 on his return from the Red Sea, and, having erected a high cross on an eminence, called the island Vera Cruz.* It was again occupied for a short time by the pirates who frequented the mouth of the Red Sea, and who amassed considerable booty by plundering the native vessels engaged in the Indian trade. They formed a project of settling here, and erecting strong fortifications; but having, with much labour, dug through the solid rock to a depth of fifteen fathoms, in a fruitless search for water, they abandoned their design, and removed to Mary's Island, on the east side of Madagascar.†

In 1799 it was taken possession of by the East India Company, and a force under Lieutenant Colonel Murray was sent from Bombay to garrison it, with the view of preventing the French troops, then engaged in the occupation of Egypt, from proceeding to India, to effect a junction with Tippoo Sultán; but it was found untenable as a military position, and the Straits were too broad to be commanded by any batteries on the shore,—the troops were accordingly withdrawn.

Of late years, however, in consequence of increasing steam navigation in the Red Sea, the attention of the Indian Government has frequently been directed

* The Portugues Asia, vol. i. p. 193.

† Hamilton, vol. i. p. 43.

to the necessity of a lighthouse, to facilitate the navigation of the Straits; Perim was consequently re-occupied in the beginning of 1857, and a number of labourers sent to commence the work, which is now in the course of construction.

The only other British possessions in the vicinity of Arabia are the Massáh Islands, in the Bay of Tajoorah, the Island of Eibát, near Zailah, and the Curia Muria Islands, on the Mahra Coast of Arabia. The two first were purchased by the British in 1840, but have never been occupied, and the last was ceded by the Imám of Muscat in 1854; they are only valuable for the guano deposits which are found upon them.

CHAPTER III.

THE TEHA'MA.

The second great political division of Yemen is the Tehâma, which extends, with a varying breadth of from twenty to eighty miles, along the whole sea-coast of that province washed by the Red Sea.

It is now an integral part of the Turkish empire, but contains many chieftains, whose authority over their immediate clansmen is not entirely ignored. With the exception of Aden, it is the only part of Yemen which has ever submitted to a foreign yoke since the era of the Hejira.

The principal cities in this district are Hodaida, Lohea, Mokha, and Jezán on the sea-coast, and Zebeed and Bait-el-Fukeeh in the interior.

The Strait of Bab-el-Mandeb, which forms the entrance of the Red Sea, is the limit of the Turkish possessions to the south. The name signifies 'the gate of affliction,' and is supposed to express the dangers which formerly attended its navigation. It formed for many years the barrier unpassed by Europeans, and from the time it was forced, the knowledge of India and the countries beyond it, which had been a sealed book, continued rapidly to increase.

This passage is fourteen and a half miles broad, and in the middle is the island of Perim, described in the preceding chapter.

The point of land on the Arabian coast known as Ras Bab-el-Mandeb is an extensive plain, surrounded by high bold rocks: it bears traces of former habitation in the old wells and remains of loosely constructed stone houses, with which it abounds. Near this the author discovered, in February 1857, the remains of the ancient city of Okelis, according to Strabo and Pliny the sea-port of the Catabeni or Gebanitæ, and long the centre of commerce between Europe and the East, where the merchants of Egypt met those from India. The ruins are situated about a mile from the sea, inside the Straits, at a place called by the natives, Dakooäa: little remains save a few foundations of houses built of madrepore, which barely appear above the ground; but these suffice to show that the construction is very ancient, and quite dissimilar to any work constructed by the races now inhabiting the country.

The first city on the sea coast, within the Straits, is Mokha; it has no pretensions to antiquity, and was hardly known till the Portuguese and English opened the Red Sea to the nations of Europe.

In ancient times, the three great outlets for the produce of the country around Mokha were Mooza, Okelis, and Aden. At the time of the author of the *Periplus*, Mooza was a mart of great trade; it did not possess a harbour, but had a roadstead with a sandy bottom, which afforded good holding-ground for anchors, and where vessels lay in perfect security; but since this period, it appears to have been carried inland by the gradual accretion of the coast. Shortly after this era, Okelis also was abandoned, and the trade of Arabia Felix, which had sunk to a very low ebb, was transferred to Aden, which became almost the sole commercial port in the country.

The discovery of the use of coffee, about the middle of the fifteenth century, gave a fresh stimulus to the trade of Yemen, and to this event Mokha owes its existence.

The following is the legend recorded by Abd-el-Kádir Mahomed El-Auzári El-Jezírí El-Hanbali, who wrote in Egypt about A. D. 1587.

Jemál-ed-din Aboo Abdulla Mahomed bin Sáeed-ed-Dubáni was Kadi of Aden in the middle of the fifteenth century. Having occasion to visit Abyssinia,* he observed that some of his countrymen there were addicted to drinking coffee: this he took no particular notice of, at first; but on his return to Aden, finding his health impaired, and remembering the coffee he had seen drunk in Africa, he sent for some, in hopes of obtaining relief from the use of it. The Kadi not only recovered his health, but soon perceived other virtues in the new beverage, especially that it dispelled all heaviness of the head, cheered the spirits, and kept people wakeful, without producing any evil effect.

His example and authority giving a reputation to the coffee, all the inhabitants of Aden soon fell into the habit of drinking it, in supersession of a decoction of *kát*,† which had long been in use amongst them.

Thus coffee grew common in Aden, and this was the first place where it was generally received in Arabia; it thence passed to Mecca, Egypt, and Europe.‡

One of the staunchest supporters of coffee was the learned and godly Sheikh Ali Shádulí ibn Omar, who about A. D. 1430 settled near the sea, on the plain

* The word for Abyssinia in the original is *El-Ajem*, which the translator has erroneously rendered *Persia*, in ignorance of the fact that El-Ajem is the term universally applied by the Natives of the south part of Arabia to the opposite coast of Africa. The distinction which is usually made between Persia and the north-eastern coast of Africa is, that the former is usually styled Belád-el-Ajem, the latter Bur-el-Ajem. The word *Ajem* literally means 'foreign.'

† *Catha Edulis*, Forsk.—A drug much used by the inhabitants of Arabia as a pleasurable excitant; the leaves and tender shoots form the edible part, and these, when chewed, are said to produce hilarity of spirits and an agreeable state of wakefulness.—(*London Pharmaceutical Journal.*)

‡ La Roque, p. 251.

where the city of Mokha now stands. He had acquired so great a reputation that peopled flocked from all parts of the country to receive his instructions; some of his disciples built huts round his residence, and by degrees a small village was formed on the spot, which eventually rose into a city.

One day, a ship from India, bound for Jedda, cast anchor there, and the crew, observing some huts in the desert, had the curiosity to visit them, when they made the acquaintance of the Sheikh, who regaled them with his favourite beverage. The Indians, ignorant of its properties, thought that it would cure the master of the vessel, who was then ill: the Sheikh not only assured them that it would do so, but informed them that if they would land their cargo there, they might dispose of it to great advantage; and assuming the air and tone of a prophet, he assured them that a city would one day rise on that spot which should be an eminent mart in the Indian trade.

The merchant, struck with this singular language, went on shore, drank the coffee, and found himself better on the same day. Numbers of merchants from the surrounding country came to hear the preacher, and purchased the whole cargo of the vessel. The Indians returned well pleased, and published the renown of the Sheikh; so that the place was speedily frequented by many of his countrymen. At his death, an elegant mosque was erected over his tomb, and the Sheikh Shâduli has ever since been regarded as the 'Wali' or patron saint of Mokha.

The use of coffee did not, however, prevail without much opposition from the stricter of the Mahomedans; it was even solemnly condemned as a thing contrary to law, and a declaration to that effect was drawn up by the Governor of Mecca, and signed by many of the learned men of the city. This rigour did not last long: the Sultan of Egypt, disapproving of the edict of his Governor at Mecca, compelled him to revoke it; and it met with no further opposition till A.D. 1524, when the Kadi again caused the coffee-shops to be shut, on account of the disorders caused by their frequenters. His successor permitted them to be re-opened, and so much decorum was thenceforth observed, that no Magistrate in Arabia ever after employed his authority against them.*

After the death of Sheikh Shâduli, Mokha rapidly increased in size and importance, and speedily became the great depôt of the trade of Yemen; and about the beginning of the seventeenth century the English and Dutch East India Companies established factories there, and carried on a lucrative commerce with the Indian ports.

At this time, the revenues of the port amounted to about 37,500 dollars per

* La Roque, p. 251.

annum; ships from all parts of the East frequented its harbour, and kafilahs from Egypt, Syria, and even the eastern nations of Europe, flocked to its markets. Vanden Broeck describes one which arrived during his residence there in 1616, from Aleppo and Egypt; it consisted of about 1,000 camels, and contained merchandise to the value of 100,000 ducats, as well from Hungary and Venice as from the different Mahomedan countries. This consisted chiefly of satin, damask, sarcenet, and cloth from Turkey, camlet, woollens, mercury, vermilion, and the mercery of Nuremberg, to be bartered for indigo, pepper, cloves, nutmegs, mace, and the merchandise of China.*

The population was a *mélange* of various nations; the Banians alone amounted to more than 3,000, besides which there were a great number of other Indians, Persians, Armenians, and Jews.†

In the beginning of the eighteenth century, the French established a factory at Mokha, which was then at its highest state of prosperity, and almost the only outlet for the produce of the coffee country.

The English, Dutch, and French carried on a regular trade with it, and, by means of the navigation round the Cape of Good Hope, the freight of coffee was considerably lessened, and the consumption of it in Europe began proportionably to increase; still, however, a large quantity, probably as much as 16,000 bales, annually went to Egypt by Jedda, until 1803, when the Americans first began to trade in the Red Sea.

This trade continued unabated until 1839, when Aden became a British possession, and the superior qualifications of that port, under an enlightened Government, gradually withdrew the commerce of Mokha, since which period it has rapidly and steadily declined.

No language can depict the present deplorable condition of this once flourishing town. From the sea it still looks well; the houses are large, well built, of brick plastered with lime, and have a square, solid appearance. It is enclosed by a wall, strengthened by several forts and towers, and occupying a space about half a mile square. The harbour is defended by a fort on each side, mounting a few guns. But a closer inspection dispels this first favourable impression: the forts are in ruins; the harbour is rapidly filling up; in the whole town there are not twenty houses in good repair, while two-thirds are absolutely crumbling to pieces and deserted; the mosques are nearly as bad, and it is impossible to conceive a picture of more hopeless desolation than that presented by the ruined houses and deserted streets of Mokha.

In the suburbs there are numerous reed and grass huts, of a cylindrical form, with conical roofs; they are composed of sheaves of grass tied on the outside

* Hist. Gen. des Voyages, vol. xxxi. p. 438. † Idem, p. 449.

of wooden frames, and plastered on the interior with mud, but a large proportion are tenantless, or are only occupied by women and children, whose husbands and fathers have gone to Aden, to seek a livelihood which they can no longer find in their native place, and, as a necessary consequence, the streets of the city are crowded with mendicants.

The ruin of Mokha has been, and must continue to be, in inverse ratio to the prosperity of Aden. Under the most favourable circumstances, two trading ports could hardly flourish in such close proximity to each other, but this becomes an impossibility when, as in the present case, the one has an indifferent anchorage gradually filling up, a rapacious government, under which justice does not exist, or is at best but a marketable commodity, where no works for the public benefit are ever undertaken—in short, where the worst features of Turkish misrule are prominent; while the other has a more favourable position, a capacious and secure harbour, where the subject enjoys perfect civil and religious liberty, and justice is dispensed with an even hand. Under such circumstances, it is no rash prophecy to foretell that, unless some remarkable change takes place, in a few years hence Mokha will have sunk into the insignificance from which Sheikh Shâduli and the discovery of the use of coffee raised it.

Under a good government, the Turkish possessions in Arabia would prove highly remunerative; but at present they do not pay their own expenses. The Pashas usually obtain their appointments by heavy bribes at Constantinople; they come to the country poor, and their only object is to amass wealth. They usually remain about three years, when they are relieved by others, who follow the same course.

The customs dues of the various ports are farmed out to merchants, who emulate their rulers in extortion, and enrich themselves at the expense of the commerce of the country. The revenues of Mokha were sold in 1857 for the sum of 24,000 dollars, while the previous year, during which they were collected by paid officials, they did not realise more than 16,000, whereas, with judicious management, they might be made to exceed 50,000.

The country in the vicinity of Mokha is a barren plain, producing little save pasturage for flocks and herds; in the immediate neighbourhood of the town, however, a few gardens have been made, which form pleasant residences during the hot season. Dates and vegetables grow there in abundance, as well as throughout the coast of the Tehâma.

Hodaida is now the most flourishing of the Turkish ports in Yemen, and is generally the residence of the Pasha who governs the province. It is a large fortified town, with lofty buildings, situated on the north-east side of a sandy bay, and sheltered by a point of land running north-west. The houses of the

merchants and principal inhabitants are of stone, while the rest are *areesh*, or huts composed of reeds, mats, and rushes; the number of the latter has, however, been very much curtailed of late years.

Large quantities of coffee are brought from the interior to Hodaida; some of this is exported direct to Egypt, but the greater quantity finds its way to Aden, whence it is sent to Bombay, France, and America. The customs dues were sold by public auction in 1857, and realised 75,000 dollars.

Lohaia is another rising port, situated north of Hodaida. It has existed only four centuries. Its founder was Sheikh Sáleh, who built a hut upon the shore, and spent the remainder of his days there. After his death, a tomb was built over his grave, and shortly afterwards the inhabitants of Marabeea, the port of which had filled up, removed thither.*

The town is surrounded by a wall, with several forts and towers; the principal one is on a hill, which commands the town, but it is in a ruined state. The houses, some of which are large and good, are built of coral. There is an excellent market, generally well supplied with such provisions as are required for shipping, and the water is good, but distant from the town.†

Although the harbour is very indifferent, it has an extensive trade in coffee; the customs dues in 1857 sold for 31,000 dollars. The environs are arid and sterile, and in the vicinity of the town is a salt mine.

About eighteen miles north of Lohaia, and midway between it and Hodaida, is the island of Kamarán. It is about eleven miles long, and from two to four broad, and one mile distant from the mainland. It is chiefly composed of hard rock, with here and there a little sand and soil capable of cultivation, and on which date-trees flourish. It is generally low, but towards the south there are elevated parts, forming small hills, and on the north it is swampy, and covered with jungle. There are seven small villages on the island, mostly consisting of fishermen's huts, whose owners are engaged in the pearl and turtle fisheries.‡ A bay at the eastern side of the island affords a secure anchorage, to which vessels passing between Jedda and India frequently resort for wood and water.

Jezán is the seaport of the district of Aboo Areesh, but it is entirely under Turkish government. It has a few stone buildings, but the houses are for the most part of mat and reeds. Its fort is greatly decayed, and it has a scantily supplied bazar. The country round it is tolerably fertile, and has a considerable trade in coffee and senna, which is brought from the country of the Háshid-wa-Bakeel. The population is about four hundred, the greater

* Neibuhr's Travels, vol. i. p. 252. † Sailing Directions for the Red Sea, p. 23.
‡ Sailing Directions for the Red Sea, p. 18.

portion of whom are employed in the pearl fishery, which is carried on extensively here, and at the islands of Fersán, about three miles from it. The latter also produces abundance of corn, which is imported into Arabia.*

Zebeed, which, before the rise of Hodaida, was capital of the Teháma, is situated close to one of the finest and best watered valleys in the district, and the only one possessing a perennial stream reaching the sea. From the circumstance of the houses being of their natural dull, brick-red colour, Zebeed has a sombre aspect in comparison with the clean white-washed buildings of Mokha; many, however, are in ruins, which adds to the dreariness of the aspect. It has four gates, namely Bab Kootub, Bab Sháhem, Bab Subáreh, and Bab Mukhel. Within the city is a large and well-planned bazar, in which the common necessaries of Arab life are to be found in abundance. The trade of Zebeed is inconsiderable, and consists of coffee, honey, gums, &c. Indigo is grown to a great extent in its vicinity, but its importance as a commercial town has greatly diminished since the time when it was a royal residence.†

In its environs, the village of Ghasána is the grave of El-Wáli es-Sálih Ahmed ibn El-Ojail El-Yemeni, who erst was famous for his sanctity and the miracles which he wrought. On one occasion the ulemas and great people of the Zeidee sect are said to have visited him. The Sheikh sat without his cell, and received and returned their salutations. At length, a question arose on the subject of predestination, the Zeidees maintaining that there was no such thing, but that each man was the author of his own actions. The Sheikh replied,—"If such be the case, get up from the place where you are now sitting." They all endeavoured to rise, but not one was able to do so! The Sheikh left them in this position, and returned to his cell. They remained in this condition, exposed to the rays of the sun, and lamenting their sad state, till after sunset, when some of the Sheikh's pupils went up to him, and told him that they had repented of their corrupt faith, whereupon he released and hospitably entertained them.‡

The road between Mokha and Zebeed passes first through the village of Rouais, distant fourteen miles from the first city; a little further on is Mooshej, a tolerably large town, having two handsome mosques, and a population of eight hundred souls. One of these mosques is said to be the favourite resort of the Kálif Ali,§ the son-in-law of Mahomed, who generally descends in an

* Hist. Gen. des Voyages, vol. xxxiii. p. 148; Neibuhr, vol. ii. p. 54; Sailing Instructions, p. 27.

† Cruttenden; vide Bom. Geo. Soc. Trans. Nov. 1838. ‡ Ibn Batuta, vol. i. p. 278.

§ The Author has endeavoured to preserve the popular orthography of proper names, as far as they are consistent with correct pronunciation. In some cases, however, a strict adherence to Arabic pronunciation would appear pedantic, as in the word Kálif, which ought to be written *Khalífa*; Mecca, correctly *Mukka*, &c.

invisible form, but has been seen by a favoured few. The country between it and Mokha is very uninteresting, being covered with coarse grass and stunted bushes as far as the eye can reach; but in the immediate vicinity of Mooshej the ground produces tolerable crops of millet, and several kinds of fruits and flowers.*

Hence to Shoorjeh is a distance of twenty-eight miles, through an equally barren and deserted country; but after passing this village the aspect changes, and between it and Zebeed there is a large tract of cultivated ground.†

Bait-el-Fukeeh is distant from Zebeed twenty-six miles. It derives its name, 'the house of the sage,' from being the burial-place of a saint named Ahmed ibn Moosa, whose tomb is an object of veneration, and in honour of whom a three days' *zeeárah*, or religious pilgrimage, is annually held.‡

It is situated on a plain, which, though by no means naturally fertile, is very carefully cultivated.§ It is a large and straggling town, having a population of eight hundred souls. There are no walls, but it has some well-built stone houses, and a fortress in the centre called Hosn Othmán; also three mosques, and several handsome tombs in the neighbourhood. It is larger than Zebeed, and, not being surrounded by walls, has a more light and cheerful appearance. It is said to be the hottest town in the Tehâma.‖

It is the frontier town of the Turks, and the grand inland emporium of the coffee trade, particularly with Hodaida. In a commercial point of view its situation is peculiarly favourable, being only half a day's journey from the coffee country, and but a few days from the ports of Lohaia, Hodaida, and Mokha. It also exports gums, frankincense, bees-wax, &c., and imports Indian and English piece goods, shawls, spices, and sugar.

* Cruttenden. † Idem. ‡ Neibuhr, vol. i. p. 269. § Idem. ‖ Cruttenden.

CHAPTER IV.

SANÄA.

The district of Sanäa is very undefined in extent, but includes the country round the city to a distance of half a day's journey on the west, north, and east; and is bounded on the south by the Tehâma and the districts of Láhej and Yáffa.

This description, however, is very arbitrary; for while the dynasty of the Imâms existed, their sway extended over a much greater space, sometimes, indeed, over the whole of Yemen. Gradually it was encroached upon by the Sheikhs who had been subject or tributary to them, and by the Turks. A bad system of government prepared the way for intestine strife: on the death of each sovereign the succession was disputed, and the unsuccessful candidate seldom failed to retain some part of the territory and alienate many of the subjects of the legitimate prince; until at length the very shadow of regular Government has passed away, and this, the garden of Arabia, has been abandoned to anarchy and confusion. The last Imâm is a wanderer and an outcast in an obscure village, in his own dominions: without money or friends, without the esteem of his countrymen, a profligate and a drunkard, he passes a life of hopeless wretchedness, and the fair country which had been ruled by long lines of mighty kings for five thousand years may be numbered with the kingdoms which have passed away,—but, alas! no better dynasty has risen from its ashes.

The city of Sanäa, the capital of Yemen, is situated in a deep valley, about twenty or thirty miles in length, and six or seven in breadth, and four thousand feet above the level of the sea. This valley is bounded on the east by a high range of mountains, called Jebel Nikkum, and is studded all along with large villages.*

The city, and its suburbs, the Beer-el-Asáb, are both surrounded by walls, and, including the gardens, the circumference is about five and a half miles. The principal street has a bridge, under which a considerable body of water passes after rain; the others are narrow, though generally broader than those of Mokha. The houses are of brick, with open holes for windows, closed, when necessary, by wooden shutters; but some of the houses of the higher classes have stained glass windows, and most are furnished with fountains.

* Cruttenden.

There are about twenty mosques, many of which are elaborately ornamented, especially those containing tombs of the Imáms.*

The public baths, at the time Neibuhr visited the city, were twelve in number, built on the same plan as those of Egypt, and were a favourite resort of the merchants, who met there to discuss the state of trade, and the news of the day, over their pipe and cup of *kishr*.† There was also a mint, and a range of prisons for persons of different ranks, as also a number of khans for the reception of travellers. Mechanics work in particular quarters in the open air, but, like the wealthier merchants, they frequently have country residences, to which they retire when the labour of the day is done. Here also, as in most other Arabian towns, the Jews have a distinct quarter to themselves. It is distant about half an hour's walk from the Mahomedan town, a large tract of waste land, varied by cemeteries and remains of buildings, forming the division. It contains many buildings, which must formerly have been the abodes of affluence and ease, but which are now ruined and neglected, whilst over a large surface lies scattered the *débris* of buildings which a few years ago were wrested from their lawful occupants, and became a prey to a savage and fanatical mob.‡

The Jews subsist chiefly by the manufacture of gold and silver ornaments, gunpowder, and spirituous liquors; many also work as common labourers. They are in the utmost poverty, and suffer greatly from the fanatical persecution of their Mahomedan neighbours.

According to the estimate of the Rev. Mr. Stern, who visited Sanäa in 1856, the city contains about 40,000 inhabitants, of whom 22,000 are Mahomedans, and 18,000 Jews.

There was formerly a large colony of Banians, but these have almost entirely left the country; Mr. Stern only heard of three, of whom two were murdered during his stay there.

The city walls are of unburnt brick, and mounted with cannon; but they are in a very bad condition. There are four gates, and at both east and west ends a castle containing a palace; the former is the modern citadel.§ The palaces above mentioned are built in the Saracenic style, with extensive gardens around them, and constructed with an eye to defence. The larger, but the finer and more modern one, is named Bostán-es-Sultán, and the other, which was built by the Imám-el-Metawakkil, and embellished by the Imám Mehdi,

* Chesney, vol. i. p. 622.

† A decoction of the coffee berry is not much used in Yemen; the natives prefer the husks, which are sometimes flavoured with ginger and other spices;—this beverage is called *kishr*.

‡ Jewish Intelligence, vol. xxiii. pp. 109, 141.

§ McCulloch's Geo. Dict. vol. ii. p. 631.

is styled Bostán-el-Metawakkil. They are of stone, plastered with gray-coloured mortar, and the apartments on the ground-floor are mostly large saloons, which in the time of the Imáms were splendidly furnished, and embellished with fountains,* but are now utterly neglected.

The principal trade is in coffee, which does not, however, grow in Sanäa; the experiment has frequently been tried, but always without success, either on account of the climate being too cold, or the soil too rich. Fruits of all kinds grow in abundance; amongst others, grapes, almonds, figs, pomegranates, plums, apricots, walnuts, plantains, and peaches. From one species of grape, excellent seedless raisins are made, and from another, a very fine quality of wine; a spirit is also distilled from barley;—the last two are manufactured by the Jews.

Iron is found within two days' journey, but of a soft description. The manufactures are confined to a thick species of cotton cloth, and a coarse kind of *abba*, or camoleen.†

Silk goods, spices, sugar, &c. are exposed for sale in the bazar; English piece goods, and thread for weaving; Persian tobacco, and glass, are also imported in considerable quantities.‡

The hills round the city are bleak and bare, and timber for building purposes, as well as firewood, has to be brought from a considerable distance; a little pit coal and peat is sometimes used.§

The climate is cold and dry; long periods often elapse without rain, and famine is a frequent result. Some Himyaritic inscriptions were found by Mr. Cruttenden, but few antiquities have ever been brought thence. An aqueduct, and ruins of castles and palaces, are the only remains of the ancient city, which was founded by Sanäa ibn Zál ibn A'ber or Heber, and was called Auzál.‖

Until the last few years, the throne of Yemen was hereditary in the family of the Imáms of Sanäa; they were of the Zeidee sect, and assumed the title of Ameer-el-Mäoomineen, or 'prince of the faithful,' and were recognised in their own dominions as the spiritual as well as temporal heads of their religion. For several centuries they stamped their own coin, and hoisted their own flag,—the double-bladed sword of Ali on a red ground. Now, however, the inhabitants have refused to recognise any longer the government of their legitimate sovereign: for about a year after the last Imám was deposed, robbery and bloodshed reigned unchecked in the city; but at last the merchants agreed to elect one of their own body as governor. His authority is still

* Chesney, vol. i. p. 622; Cruttenden. † Cruttenden. ‡ McCulloch.
§ Neibuhr. ‖ Chesney, vol. ii. p. 622.

respected within the walls, but outside the city he is powerless for good or for evil.*

About two and a half miles north-west of Sanäa is the town of Jeráf, which supplies the market with vegetables; and about the same distance onwards is Rodah, a clean village, chiefly composed of country residences and gardens, where most of the inhabitants retire for the night.† Beyond this is the town and mount of Amrán, also composed of the residences of the inhabitants of Sanäa.‡

Above the city are the ruins of the castle of Ghoomdán, on the top of a mountain called Sheibán, 1,500 feet above the plain, to which there is an ascent of 1,600 steps.§ It was built by El-Israh Yahsab, says Cazweeni, and consisted of an immense quadrangular edifice, the four sides of which were severally red, white, yellow, and green. From the centre rose a building of seven stories, each forty cubits high; the last formed an *iwán* or saloon, which was built entirely of marble, and the floor was covered with one slab. At the four corners of the saloon were figures of lions hollowed out, and so constructed that the wind passing through caused them to emit a sound like that of a lion's roar. This palace, together with the temple attached to it, were destroyed by order of the Kálif Othmán, towards the middle of the seventh century.‖

To the south of Sanäa, and a little way to the westward of Khaulán, is situated the ancient town of Dorán. It is said to have two granaries, and a khan, cut in the solid rock.¶ To the south-east of this is Serájeh, where is a large cistern for the reception of rain-water.**

The city and castle of Dthamár, frequently the residence of the Himyarite sovereigns, are south-east of Serájeh, and eighteen miles distant from Yereem, agreeably situated on a mount, in the middle of a fertile plain; the town has a small stream of water running through it. During the visit of Neibuhr it had a university with five hundred students; but the building has since been converted into a mosque, in which the boys of the village are instructed in the elements of Arab learning. It has no walls, but several of the hills in the neighbourhood were fortified and garrisoned in the days of the Imáms: it contains nearly 5,000 houses. It is said that the ruins of an extensive building, with sixty-six columns above, and sixty-four below (probably part of an aqueduct), exist about a day's journey from Dthamár, called 'The Throne of Balkees.' Near it is a mountain containing a mine of native sulphur, and in another

* Since this was written, the Imám Ghalib has been reinstated in the government of his own kingdom, but his power is merely nominal.—1858.

† Chesney, vol. i. p. 622. ‡ Idem, p. 616. § Idem, p. 622.

‖ Caussin de Percival. ¶ Chesney, vol. i. p. 619. ** Neibuhr.

hill, still further off, fine cornelians are found, which are much prized in Arabia.*

Mooáhil is situated on the south side of a low mountain, two miles north of Dthamár. The houses are of a singular description, being all excavated out of the solid rock. It was built by Imám Mehdi Mahomed ibn Ahmed, in the beginning of the eighteenth century, and was the favourite residence of that prince.†

Yereem, which is one stage south of Dthamár, stands amongst barren hills on the southern slope of Jebel Samára, near the site of the ancient city of Dthafár (sometimes written Idaphár or Sephár), a royal residence of the Himyarite kings. It has a castle built upon a rock; the houses are of sun-dried brick, and not so much crowded as they generally are in Arab towns.‡

Rodäa lies to the south-east of Yereem, on the borders of the Yaffäee country. To the south-west of this is Ibb, a walled city built on the slope of Jebel Maharras. It contained in Neibuhr's time about eight hundred well-built houses, and a large reservoir supplied by an aqueduct. The streets are paved, and it has a considerable number of small mosques.§

Westward, and a little to the south, is Oudain, a small and unprotected village of about three hundred houses, famous for its coffee, which is esteemed the best in Arabia.‖ The coffee-trees are planted in terraces on the sides of the mountains, for the most part watered only by the rain, but some are irrigated from reservoirs built to contain rain-water. They exhale a delicious perfume, and afford a most grateful shade, being planted so close that the sun's rays can hardly penetrate the branches. Those trees that are artificially watered yield two crops a year, but the second is seldom thoroughly ripe, and is always inferior to the first.¶

To the south of Ibb and Oudain is the city of Jibleh, built at the time that Saleh-ed-Deen conquered Yemen. It stands upon the brink of a precipice at the confluence of two mountain streams, and contains about six hundred houses; the streets are paved—a thing uncommon in Arabia. A considerable number of Jews reside here, in a quarter outside the city.**

The district of Kattaba, to the east of Jibleh, contains a city of the same name, and a smaller town, called Khairán. The former, which lies in a fertile valley, has a citadel of great strength; near it runs a river, which, passing through a range of wild and lofty hills, is lost ere it reaches the sea.††

* Chesney, vol. i. p. 619; Neibuhr; Records of Bombay Government. † La Roque, p. 183.
‡ Chesney, vol. i. p. 619; Crichton, p. 462. § Chesney, vol. i. p. 618; Neibuhr.
‖ Neibuhr. ¶ Neibuhr, vol. i. p. 291.
** Chesney, vol. i. p. 618; Neibuhr, vol. i. p. 303; Playfair, vol. ii. p. 14.
†† Chesney, vol. i. p. 618; Neibuhr.

South of Kattaba, and at no great distance from Ta'ez, lies the town of Jennád, in a pleasant but unwholesome tract, near the valley of Sahoul.*

Ta'ez is a small district, principally inhabited by the Sherjebi tribe, with an important town of the same name, built, according to tradition, by the Ayyubites, near the tomb of a celebrated saint named Ismäil Mulk. It is situated in the Wádi-el-Jena, at the top of Jebel Sábir, which is the highest point in the whole of the Arabian range. It was ascended by M. Botta in 1836, who describes it as being about 8,000 feet high, with the remains of an ancient castle on the top.† It is encompassed by a wall twenty feet high, and varying from sixteen to twenty feet in thickness, flanked with several towers. Within the rampart rises a steep rock, two hundred feet high, on which is built a citadel, defended by an exterior coating of brick. It was some time a royal residence, and boasted a fine mosque, built by Melek Afdthal, and a library containing 100,000 volumes.‡

The country is rich, and produces grapes of good quality, as well as the *kát* tree, the leaves and tender shoots of which are an indispensable luxury amongst the Yemenites. They are chewed, and produce an effect similar to that of strong green tea. The immediate neighbourhood of the city, however, is bleak and sterile, none of the fertile parts of Sábir being visible from it.

The Sherjebi tribe numbers about four thousand fighting men.

Hajereea was a district formerly belonging to Sanäa, and bordering on the provinces of Láhej. It contains Ed-Dimlooha, a strong city, which Aboo'l Feda calls 'the king's treasury,' and Mukhádera, a fortress said to be impregnable; this stands on a lofty and precipitous hill, accessible only by one path which is shut by a gate; the summit is fertile, and well supplied with water.§

The last town of any importance in the province of Sanäa and district of Assáb is Häis. It is situated on the borders of the Teháma, and is small and ill built. A considerable quantity of earthenware, especially coarse drinking vessels, is manufactured there.‖

* Playfair, vol. vi. p. 4. † Bulletin de la Soc. de Geog. No. 72, December 1838.
‡ Chesney, vol. i. p. 564; Playfair, vol. v. p. 14; Neibuhr; Crichton, p. 461.
§ Neibuhr. ‖ Chesney, vol. i. p. 620; Neibuhr.

CHAPTER V.

LA'HEJ.

The province which is here designated Láhej approximates very closely to that described by many authors as the principality of Aden; but as the town of that name has passed into the hands of the British, and its former chief has fixed his residence at Láhej, that name has been taken to denote the entire province. With it are included several states and tribes perfectly independent of the government of the Sultan, but which cannot with propriety be classed elsewhere.

It is the most southern part of Yemen, and extends along the sea-coast from the Straits of Bab-el-Mandeb on the west to about eighty miles east of Aden, and reaches nearly as far north as Ta'ez. The most important tribes occupying this territory are the Soobaihá, Abdali, Foudtheli, and Houshebi*; they are again sub-divided into many classes or families, owning only so much allegiance to their titular chiefs as suits their own convenience.

The Soobaihás have been designated 'the gipsies of Arabia.' There is another tribe which far more nearly realises this description†; nevertheless they are, for the most part, a wandering and predatory race, without any fixed habitations. They occupy the country between the Straits and Aden, and are said to number 12,000 souls. Their country is for the most part barren, yet, on a few productive spots, coffee, fruits, and grain are cultivated. Cattle may always be found in large flocks, and the breed of camels is peculiarly fine.‡

The Abdali tribe, which formerly possessed Aden, is the wealthiest but least warlike in the district. It is divided into about thirty sub-tribes, some of which have entirely thrown off their allegiance to the Sultan. All the clans collectively do not number more than ten thousand souls, of whom about four thousand are fighting men; in addition, the Sultan keeps a host of armed slaves, chiefly to guard his own palace, and these are esteemed amongst the best of his soldiery.

The capital is usually styled by Europeans, Láhej, but by the natives *El-Howta*. It is situated in the midst of a rich and fertile plain, irrigated by the torrents which descend from the mountains in the Houshebi country. The

* Abdali, *plural* Abádil; Foudtheli, *plural* Ahl Foudthel; Houshebi, *plural* Houáshib.

† Khádim, *plural* Akhdám; see page 15, *antè*.

‡ Haines's Memoir on South-East Coast of Arabia.

largest of these flows during the greater part of the year, without, however, reaching the sea; at times it is a mere thread, but when swollen by rain it becomes a powerful and rapid stream, from which the water is diverted by canals and dykes, for the irrigation of the more distant fields.

The country around Láhej, as far as the eye can reach, is richly cultivated, and produces abundance of jowaree,* cotton, beans, sesamum, &c. the greater part of which goes to supply the Aden market. Interspersed amongst the fields are gardens or groves of trees, under the shade of which fruit and vegetables are reared. One of the commonest and most beautiful of the trees is called by the Arabs *badám*. It attains a large size, and affords an almost impervious shade; the leaves are broad, and grow in clusters at the extremities of the branches, and it produces a fruit not unlike the common almond, but of a bitter and astringent taste.

The plain is of a rich alluvial soil, producing, even under the wretched system of cultivation with which alone the Arabs are conversant, three crops each year; but were due attention paid to the manuring of the fields and the proper alternation of crops, it might be made to bear even more richly than it does at present. Lately, the experiment has been tried of sending out Egyptian gardeners, to instruct the Arabs in rearing vegetables, and already this measure has been attended with marked success.

Láhej is about thirty miles north-west of Aden; it is a large and straggling town, built without any order, and covering an area of about a mile and a half long by one broad; it contains about five thousand inhabitants, including a few Indian merchants, Arabian Jews, and Somálies. The better description of houses are of sun-dried bricks, plastered in the interior with mud, and in some cases white-washed with pipe-clay,—they are usually loopholed, and defensible; the remainder are rude huts, composed of branches of trees and long rank grass, which afford but an indifferent protection from the sun, and none against the rain.

There is a market, tolerably well supplied with all the requirements of Arab life. The produce of the country consists of jowaree, cotton, grass and other fodder for cattle, vegetables, honey, and bees-wax;—cows of a very superior quality, as well as sheep and goats, are also brought thence to the Aden market.

Beer Ahmed is a small village, with a strong fort, about three miles inland from the north shore of the harbour of Aden; and about two miles eastward of this is the hamlet of Sailán. These are in the territory of the Akrabi† clan, a sub-division of the Abdali tribe, but quite independent of it. They occupy a

* *Anglicè*, millet.

† Akrabi, *plural* Akárib.

tract of about twenty square miles, with a population of six hundred males, and are a fine but turbulent body of men, who keep their more peaceable neighbours in a constant state of alarm. They are usually in close alliance with the Foudthelis, and their castle is frequently made the *point d'appui* whence plundering parties issue forth.

They have a small harbour behind Jebel Hassan, a rocky promontory to the west of Aden, and very similar to it. This was for many years blockaded by the British, on account of the hostile attitude which the tribe had assumed towards them; but within the last two years they have made their submission, and the blockade has been raised.

The chief produce of the country is jowaree and toddy—the latter a fermented liquor extracted from the Doom or Theban palm; sheep and goats are also abundant.

The district occupied by the Foudtheli tribe is called El-Abien, and receives its name from Abien, a descendant of Himyar. It occupies the whole coast line from Aden to Mugatain, a distance of eighty miles, and extends inland to the high range of hills which form the boundary of the Yaffäee country. It is chiefly mountainous, Jebel Kharaz, a high range sixteen miles north-east of Shughra, reaching 5,442 feet above the level of the sea; it is about twenty miles in length, parallel to the coast, from which it is two miles distant.

The chief towns are Shughra, Jáwăllah, and Assălah: the first, which is the capital of the district, is a village containing two hundred inhabitants, and a fort of sun-dried bricks. It is the residence of the Sultan for several months in the year, and is distant about a mile from the coast, in a small plain at the foot of Jebel Kharaz.*

Jáwăllah is about five miles north-west of Ras Sailán, and distant two miles from the sea. This, as well as the whole coast between it and Aden, formerly belonged to Yaffa, but was wrested from it by the Foudtheli in 1837.*

Asăllah is a small town about ten miles north-east of Ras Sailán, and two from the coast. It contains about two hundred houses, forty of which are of brick, and has a population of five hundred souls. The country around is well watered and cultivated. About a mile and a half to the westward is El-Khore, a village surrounded by small hills, defended by towers; the inhabitants are chiefly agricultural.*

Mugatain, which forms the boundary between the Foudtheli and Oulaki tribes, is an anchorage formed by a slightly projecting rocky point of the coast, and is resorted to for shelter by small trading vessels during the north-east

* Haines's Memoir on the South-East Coast of Arabia.

monsoon. A few miles to the westward is another similar projection, known as *Mugatain Soghair*, or the Lesser Mugatain.*

The Foudthelis are a bold and warlike race, and have acquired a well-earned reputation amongst their neighbours for cruelty and perfidy. Until very lately they have shown themselves extremely inimical to the British, but it is satisfactory to know that a judicious line of firm but conciliatory policy has converted this tribe, which possesses, more than any other, the power to injure the commerce of Aden, from implacable enemies into staunch supporters and friends.

The Foudtheli country is poor, and produces little save jowaree and the building materials used in constructing temporary houses, common throughout Arabia. The whole revenues of the country, including transit duties on coffee, grain, warrus,† and other produce of Yaffa, does not exceed six thousand dollars per annum.

The present chief, Sultan Ahmed ibn Abdullah, is a very old man, but, like the generality of his countrymen, bold and reckless, delighting in marauding excursions and hazardous exploits. His only wealth arises from the transit duties above adverted to, and the produce of a few acres of land at El-Khore and Abien. The tribe is reckoned to number 15,000 persons, of whom four thousand are capable of bearing arms;—it is generally at feud with the Abdali.

The Houshebi tribe resides on the north-west frontier of the Abdali. This country supplies Aden with grain, grass, madder, aloes, honey, ghee, and senna; the mountain torrents pass through it ere reaching the Abdali territory, which gives them the power of seriously annoying that tribe, by diverting their water supply. This power is, however, seldom exercised, as a good understanding usually subsists between them.

The Houshebi Sultan, Mäana ibn Sálim,‡ has ever acted in the most friendly manner towards the British, having frequently refused large bribes, offered in the hopes of inducing him to join the various coalitions which have been formed against Aden. They number about 6,000 fighting men.

* Haines's Memoir on the South-East Coast of Arabia. † Bastard saffron.

‡ Since the above was written, Sultan Mäana has died (on the 1st June 1858). It is suspected that his death occurred from the effects of poison, administered to him by his nephew Obaid-ba-Yehia, who has succeeded him.

CHAPTER VI.

KAUKEBA'N; BELA'D-EL-KABÄIL OR HA'SHID-WA-BAKEEL; ABOO-AREESH; BENI-HALLA'L.

The fifth province into which Yemen has been divided is Kaukebán, situated a little to the south-west of Amrán, and surrounded almost on all sides by the territories of Sanäa, in one place only meeting those of the confederate tribes of Háshid-wa-Bakeel.

The capital city is of the same name, and is built on the top of an almost inaccessible hill. It contains a small castle, and an academy founded by Shereef-ed-Deen.

The reigning family in the time of Neibuhr were descended from the Prophet, through Hádi, Imám of Säadeh; they possessed considerable dominions in Yemen, and retained the title of Imám till the expulsion of the Turks by Kassim-el-Kebeer, after which they assumed that of Seyed.*

Belád-el-Kabäil or Háshid-wa-Bakeel, the sixth division, adjoins Nejrán, and extends northward as far as the desert of Amasia; on the south and east it is bounded by the territories of Sanäa and the principality of Kaukebán, and towards the west it meets the territory of Aboo-Areesh. It is very mountainous, being broken by numerous difficult ravines, separated by steep and rocky wooded hills, which are generally occupied by castellated buildings, to protect the coffee plantations.

The country is of various degrees of fertility; some valleys, which produce fruit in great abundance, are interspersed amongst the hills, and even the higher grounds are productive. Few considerable villages are to be met with; the town of Khaibán is celebrated as having been, at one time, a residence of the Himyarite sovereigns, and subsequently of the Imáms of Sanäa. The ruins of a very ancient palace still exist. There is also a town and castle, named Amrán, situated in a fertile part of the country.

This district contained many petty Sheikhs, who, unable separately to make any successful resistance to a powerful enemy, joined, in order to defend themselves by the common force; this combination is now, however, much weakened by intestine feuds.

The republican spirit prevails so little in Arabia, that the confederation of these tribes may be regarded as a singular political phenomenon. The

* Neibuhr, vol. ii. p. 49; Chesney, vol. i. p. 616.

inhabitants are considered much better soldiers than the rest of the Yemenites, and the tribes of Dthoo Mahommed and Dthoo Hoosain, particularly, are much employed as mercenaries by the various Arabian chiefs.

The tradition regarding the origin of the Háshid-wa-Bakeel is as follows:—Bábr-esh-Sham was born of honorable parents in Anatolia; after some very romantic adventures he carried off Nejema, daughter of the king of Bithynia, and sought refuge in the mountains of Yemen, where, through his sons, Háshid and Bekeel, he became the ancestor of the tribes now bearing those names, who accordingly look to him as their common ancestor. There are, however, other small tribes in the province, who trace their descent further back than the date of this tale.*

The principality of Aboo-Areesh takes its name from its capital, and signifies 'the father of huts,' probably from having contained a large proportion of houses of a very mean description. It is properly part of the Tehámа, and is everywhere dry and barren, save where watered by torrents from the hills of Yemen. This country was formerly in the dominions of the Imám, but a Shereef having, about the commencement of the eighteenth century, been appointed governor of it, he usurped the sovereign authority, and since then it has really been an independent state, though sometimes owning a nominal subjection to the Imám or the Sublime Porte. The capital is a walled city, and the residence of the Shereefs. The seaport is Jezán, now in the hands of the Turks.†

The eighth of the divisions of Yemen is a plain extending along the Red Sea for the space of a degree, from the borders of Aboo-Areesh, towards the Hejáz. It is occupied by a tribe called Beni Hallál, who are very poor, and much addicted to plunder. Their country is barren, and the inhabitants live principally on the produce of their flocks and herds.

* Neibuhr, vol. ii. pp. 50, 52; Chesney, vol. i. p. 615.

† Neibuhr, vol. ii. p. 54.

CHAPTER VII.

KHAULA'N; SANHA'N AND SÄADEH; NEJRA'N; NEHM; AND EAST KHAULA'N.

West Khaulán lies amongst the mountains westward of Säadeh, upon the road between Sanäa and Mecca, four days' journey from Háli on the confines of the Hejáz. The name is probably derived from Havilah, the son of Cush.*

The tenth division of Yemen is Sanhán, and includes the principality of Säadeh; it is a mountainous tract, situated between Háshid-wa-Bakeel and the Hejáz, and produces abundance of fruit of all kinds, including grapes. Iron also exists, but, for want of fuel, it cannot be profitably worked. This country affords cattle, milk, honey, and vegetables in profusion.

The inhabitants are said to speak uncommonly pure Arabic, though generally very illiterate. Neibuhr remarks that they seldom take more than one wife each, and the women do not marry till about fifteen years of age; they are hospitable to strangers, but do not hesitate to plunder unprotected travellers passing through their territories.

In this country there are many independent provinces, the chief of which is Säadeh, which, in Neibuhr's time, was governed by a prince descended from the Imám Hádi of Sanäa, consequently of the same lineage as the chiefs of Kaukebán.

At Säadeh, the capital, is a custom house, which realises considerable revenues by transit imposts on goods passing through from the province of Sanäa to Nejrán, Kahtán, and Mecca, which must of necessity be transmitted by this route. In the vicinity of Säadeh is a high hill, famous as being the post where a chief of this country sustained a siege of seven years by the Turks. A part of the great Desert of Amasia lies between this province and Háshid-wa-Bakeel.†

The valley of Nejrán, the eleventh division of Yemen, is situated amongst almost inaccessible mountains, and extends eastward from Abyda almost to Ahkáf, or three days' journey from Säadeh; it takes its name from Nejrán, a descendant of Abd-esh-Shems Sába, through Himyar or Kahtán.

It is a well-watered and pleasant country, fertile in corn and fruits, especially a fine kind of raisin and dates, which are sent all over Arabia. It affords excellent pasturage, and is celebrated for its breed of horses and camels. The

* Neibuhr, vol. ii. p. 57; Chesney, vol. ii. p. 50.

† Neibuhr, vol. ii. p. 57.

capital is of the same name, and is renowned in Arabian history as having been the cradle of Christianity there, and the scene of the massacre by Dthoo Nowás.

An extraordinary custom is said to prevail amongst the Beni Yám, who reside in this district. When a man of their community undertakes a journey, he sends his wife to the house of a friend, who is expected to supply the husband's place, and restore the lady on his return.

The small district of Kahtán lies amongst the mountains, three days' journey north of Wadi Nejrán; there is also a tribe bearing the same name, and an ancient site, *Bait Kahtán*, or 'the dwelling of Kahtán.' Eastward of Mecca, there is also a tribe called Beni Kahtán, and in Hadramaut is the tomb of the patriarch, and of his son Heber or Hood, also a town called Kohtán, no doubt connected with the former name.*

Nehm is a small district between Belád-el-Jeháf and Háshid-wa-Bakeel; it possesses a fertile mountain, on which are many villages. The inhabitants of Diabán are independent, but usually join those of Nehm in time of war.

East Khaulán, the thirteenth of the divisions before enumerated, lies a few leagues to the south-east of Sanäa. It is of moderate size, very mountainous, and contains many villages. In this district is the ancient city of Tanäim, famous amongst the Jews of Arabia, who had their chief seat and many spacious synagogues in it; at present it is almost desolate, and it numbers but few Jews amongst its inhabitants. The capital is Bait Rajeh; it also contains Bait Kibsie, a village entirely occupied by Seyeds.†

* Neibuhr, vol. ii. p. 59; Chesney, vol. i. p. 615, vol. ii. p. 51.

† Neibuhr, vol. ii. p. 62.

CHAPTER VIII.

BELA'D-EL-JEHA'F.

The fourteenth of the divisions of Yemen is Belád-el-Jeháf,* which extends southward from Nejrán to Hadramaut, and eastward from Háshid-wa-Bakeel to the desert which separates Yemen from Oman. It is full of sterile sandy plains, but has some fine horses and cattle.†

The wandering Arabs in this district are of a martial character; Neibuhr relates that in his day some were in the habit of wearing coats of mail,—a species of defensive armour which the other Arabs had ceased to use. They are also said to excel in poetry.‡

The capital is Máreb, which is mentioned under the name of Mariaba by Pliny, Strabo, Erastathenes, and Artemidorus. Diodorus styles it Sába, and places it on a mountain.

The modern town is built on the site of the ancient Sába, the capital of the Sabeans, and the district is called to the present day Urd-es-Sába, or 'land of Sheba.' It is doubtless identical with the realm whence the Queen of the East came, who undertook a pilgrimage to Jerusalem to visit Solomon.

It was founded by Sába, surnamed Abd-esh-Shems, no doubt because he substituted the worship of Baal for the ancient Adite religion, and probably, too, because he introduced the solar instead of the lunar year.§

Máreb is situated sixteen leagues north-east of Sanäa, and is the abode of a poor Shereef, who can hardly withstand the encroachments of his neighbours. It contains about three hundred small houses, and several ruins, which are attributed to Queen Balkees.‖

The ancient city of Máreb was situated in a valley, in which another, a day's journey in length, terminated. The latter is enclosed with hills, which, at the eastern extremity, approach so nearly together, that the gorge was closed by a large dam of masonry, famous in Arabian history as Sail-el-Arim or Sedd Máreb, 'the dyke of Máreb.' This served as an immense reservoir, to collect the rain-water, which was distributed by canals over the surrounding districts, which thus became one of the most fertile provinces of Yemen, and enjoyed a large measure of prosperity for several ages. The history of the reservoir, and of its disastrous destruction, which caused the ruin of Máreb, is given

* Called by most writers Belad-el-Jof.

† Neibuhr, vol. ii. p. 63.

‡ Chesney, vol. i. p. 624, 661.

§ The name signifies a level inland tract lower than the high plateaux, but higher than the lowlands.

‖ Neibuhr, vol. ii. p. 63.

elsewhere. The ruins of it were visited by M. D'Arnaud, a French traveller, in 1843. His journey was a difficult and arduous one. According to his description, it is situated between two hills called Balák, which, when joined by the wall, formed the reservoir. These are six hundred paces asunder, and between them the ruins of the stone dyke occupy an area of 300 paces long between the bases of the two hills, and 175 paces wide in the direction of the current. The portions leaning against the projecting foot of the mountains are still in such a state of preservation as to allow the examiner to guess their destination. There are many gates or openings in the wall, through which the water was allowed to escape into the plain below. They are in perfect preservation, and constructed at different levels, so as to secure a constant supply. As far as the eye could reach, from the adjoining hill, the bed of the watercourse and the plain on either side was strewn over with fragments of masonry, giving the whole the appearance of a vast cemetery. This watercourse appears to be the upper part of that which waters the Wádí Maifa, and opens towards the sea below Nakab-el-Hájar, and west of Hosn Ghoráb.*

Such works are common throughout Arabia, and doubtless suggested others of a similar nature, introduced by the Arabs into Europe. Such are to be found in Granada, Cardova, Seville, Gibraltar, and Minorca, which, from the perfection of their coating, continue water-tight, though they must have been in use for about eleven centuries.†

The fertility of the district of Máreb, prior to the destruction of the reservoir, was so great, that corn was sown and reaped three times in each year. This fertility might be restored by repairing the dam, but that is a work which could only be undertaken by an opulent state.

The town of Máreb, according to M. D'Arnaud, is now a miserable village, surrounded by a brick wall; but the environs are covered with ruins, testifying its past greatness, and marking the area it once covered. The ancient residence of the Queen of Sheba, or perhaps the central portion of it, which formed the city, properly speaking, was of a circular shape, about a mile and a half in diameter, and encompassed with a massive wall of freestone. Within and without its ruined precincts are innumerable fragments of solid buildings, large and square stones, portions of brick masonry, friezes, and other house ornaments, and even whole columns hewn out of a single block of the hardest limestone. West of the ancient town are other ruins: these are the remains of the outer wall of a palace, which the inhabitants call Harám Bálkees, or 'the palace of Belkees.' About one-fourth of the wall is now standing, and covered with Himyaritic inscriptions.‡

* Encyclopædia Britannica, 8th edn., vol. iii. p. 356. † Chesney, vol. i. p. 624.

‡ Encyclopædia Britannica, 8th edn., vol. iii. p. 356.

CHAPTER IX.

YAFFA.

The fifteenth and last division of Yemen here adopted is Yaffa. This territory is surrounded by that of Láhej, a part of Sanäa, and the extreme provinces of Hadramaut, and reaches inland to the high range of mountains called Jebel Yaffäee, which rise to about 6,500 feet above the sea. It was formerly under the Imáms of Sanäa, but it revolted about the end of the seventeenth century, and became independent.* The central portion of El-Yaffa is bisected by a considerable river coming from Dthamár, and which, after having watered the principal town, Yaffa, breaks through the high range, and loses itself in the Teháma.†

The Yaffäee is the most powerful tribe in Yemen, and is under seven chiefs, each of whom can muster seven thousand fighting men. The interior of the country is mountainous, abounding with fertile valleys, producing coffee, gums, madder, and cereals in abundance; it is also celebrated for the manufacture of matchlocks, and its inhabitants are esteemed a brave race of men. The Ressas are a branch of the Yaffäee.

The principal residence of the sultan is at El-Gharrah, a city about one hundred miles, or five days' journey, from Shughra; Medenet-el-Asfal is another city, famous for the tombs of various saints.

The present chief of the whole tribe is named Ghálib Ali; he succeeded his father Ali Ghálib, who died on the 14th December 1841, at the advanced age of one hundred and fifteen years.‡

The country of the Oulaki tribe is here included in Yaffa, though politically distinct from it. It extends about fifty-five miles along the coast from Mugatain on the west to Wádi Sunam on the east, and is said to reach two hundred miles into the interior.§

The tribe is divided into two sections, the Upper and Lower Oulaki, each of which branches is governed by an independent sultan.

The latter possesses the sea-coast, the capital of which is Howr; the former the interior. The inhabitants of this country are brave and warlike: not many years ago, Sultan Násr ibn Boo-Bekr, chief of the lower branch, made a dash into Shughra, attended only by three horsemen; he plundered and burnt several

* Neibuhr, vol. ii. p. 68.

† Encyclopædia Britannica, 8th edn., vol. iii. p. 356.

‡ Haines; Neibuhr, vol. ii. p. 68.

§ Haines.

houses, and was in full retreat ere the Foudthelis could be assembled to oppose him.*

Since the first relations between this tribe and the British, when the *Palinurus* surveyed the coast of Arabia, prior to the conquest of Aden, they have constantly exhibited the most friendly feeling and good faith towards them. Many of the most influential and least turbulent of the Arabs in the territories of the Nizam of the Deccan are from this tribe.

There are very few boats belonging to the port of Howr, and the only commerce in which the inhabitants engage is the exchange of their surplus produce for dates, cloth, &c.

Nisáb is the capital of the upper branch, called Owálik-el-Alián.† It is about two hundred miles from the coast, and is said to be populous, and situated in a fertile district.

* Wellsted, vol. ii. p. 417.

† Owlâki, *plural* Owálik.

CHAPTER X.

HISTORY OF YEMEN FROM THE COMMENCEMENT OF THE CHRISTIAN ERA TO THE ABYSSINIAN CONQUEST.

At the commencement of the Christian era, the Himyarite dynasty, so called from Himyar, fifth monarch of the race from Kahtán, which had ruled over Yemen with varying fortune and different degrees of magnificence for many centuries, was rapidly on the decline, and approaching its extinction. Shortly before this period occurred an event of great importance, which for the first time brought the powers of Europe into hostile contact with the nations of Arabia.

B.C. 30.

In the year 30 B. C., Egypt became a Roman province, and, from the moment it was subdued, Augustus planned the extension of the Roman power into Arabia and Ethiopia, under the supposition that the former produced spices and the latter gold.*

Two very important considerations inclined him to take this step: firstly, he hoped to open out a very rich traffic for his new subjects; and secondly, he flattered himself that new discoveries might be made, which would enable him to extend his conquests and commerce in that direction much further.†

Accordingly, an expedition was prepared, and placed under the command of Ælius Gallus, a Roman of the Equestrian order, to explore these two countries. The direction of the division sent to Ethiopia was given to Petronius, and terminated in the submission of Candace, Queen of Meroë, while the army for the exploration of Arabia was led by Gallus in person.

B.C. 24 to A.D. 1.

It was organised at Cleopatris, in the neighbourhood of the modern Suez, and consisted of ten thousand Romans, with fifteen thousand mercenaries, together with a fleet of eighty vessels of war and a hundred and thirty transports.‡

Syllaeus, Prime Minister of Obodas, King of the Nabathean Arabs, who had furnished a contingent of five hundred troops to the expedition, undertook to be guide, with the premeditated intention of causing the expedition to miscarry.

Gallus landed at Leukè Komè, where all his army fell sick of a disease

* Vincent's Periplus, vol. i. p. 53. † Harris, vol. i. p. 427.

‡ Vincent's Periplus, vol. ii. p. 271.

common in the country, the symptoms of which were a swelling in the gums, thighs, and legs, probably scurvy, which caused him to lie all the remainder of the summer and the following winter, to await their recovery.*

He then continued his journey, and advanced first through a desert into the country of Aretas (Harith), sovereign of the Thamudites, and thence, after considerable delay, caused by the treachery of his guide, to the city of Negráni (Nejrán), which was taken by assault. Quitting Nejrán, he arrived after a march of six days at the bank of a river, where the natives were collected in a body, and opposed his passage; a battle resulted, in which, with the loss of only two Romans, ten thousand Arabians were slain. After several other victories he arrived before the city of Mariaba, where the expedition terminated; for after lying before the place for six days, Gallus was compelled, on account of the want of water, to raise the siege and retrace his steps. He crossed the mountains to the Tehámа, and thence proceeded to Nera, where the remains of the expedition embarked on board the fleet, and crossed the gulf to Myos Hormos.†

Ælius Gallus brought back with him, after two years' absence, but a small part of his army, having lost the remainder, not in battle, but by hunger, fatigue, and sickness; for during the whole campaign, not more than seven men fell by the sword.‡

Considerable diversity of opinion exists regarding the position of the town of Mariaba, where the expedition terminated. It could hardly have been the Máreb of the Sabeans, as the famous dam there would have supplied the army with abundance of water; probably it was another city of the same name, situated between it and Nejrán.

The sovereign of Yemen during the invasion was Dthoo'l Adhar, the son of Abraha, the son of Afrikoos: this name corresponds very nearly with that of Ilisare, mentioned by Strabo, for Dthoo'l-Adhár may as well be spelt Zoo'l Azár, and in the oblique case Zi'l Izár—a resemblance to Ilisare too striking not to be admitted.§

He received the epithet *Dhoo'l Adhár*—'the lord of terrors,' or 'the terrible,' from having introduced into Yemen some monstrous races of men (others, however, say that it was a species of ape), which, never having been seen there before, filled the inhabitants with consternation.‖

This prince having exhausted the patience of his subjects by tyranny and oppression, they rose in arms against him, and conferred the crown upon his son

* Harris, vol. i. p. 427.
† Vincent's Periplus, vol. i. p. 271.
‡ Harris, vol. i. p. 427; Dion Cassius, lib. liii.; Strabo, lib. xvi. xvii.
§ Caussin de Percival.
‖ Pocock, Spec. Hist. Arab.

Shoorahbeel, who, on his death, was succeeded by Hodhád, who was succeeded by Balkees.*

A.D. 1 to A.D. 90.

The reign of Queen Balkees very nearly coincided with the commencement of the Christian Era. She was, according to Aboo'l-Féda, the twenty-second sovereign of the family of Kahtán (Jocktan), and the eighteenth in the descent from Himyar, the son of Sába, the founder of the Himyarite dynasty, who received his name from the habit he had of wearing red garments, and was the first who wore a golden diadem in token of regal power.†

The real name of Balkees was Balkáma or Yalkáma, and she was the daughter of Hodhád, or of El-Israh, the son of Dthoo-Jadán. At the commencement of her reign, she had to defend herself against the attacks of Dthoo'l-Adhár, who still lived. In order to put an end to this strife, and secure the throne, she gave her hand to Dthoo'l-Adhár, whom she had no sooner married than she destroyed by poison.

The existence of this princess has given rise to numerous fables,—amongst others, that she was the Queen of Sheba who was contemporary with and married Solomon.‡

She repaired and consolidated the dam of Máreb, which had suffered from lapse of time. The original construction of this edifice has been attributed by Aboo'l-Féda to Abd-esh-Shems, the son of Yahsáb, the son of Yooráb, the son of Kahtán (Jocktan), the son of Heber, who was surnamed Sába, and who built the city from him called Sába, and afterwards Máreb; but other historians assign it to Lockmán, king of that remnant of the Adites who renounced idolatry at the preaching of the Prophet Hood, and who are usually styled the Second Adites.

Lockmán took up his residence at Sába about 1750 B.C., and finding that the country was frequently ravaged by impetuous mountain torrents, while at other times it was parched for want of a sufficient supply of water, he conceived the idea of building a dam across the gorge of a valley, contained between two mountains, which he thus converted into a vast reservoir, for the reception of rain-water descending from the hills. The dam was built of cut stone, secured with iron or copper cramps, and cemented with bitumen, forming a prodigious mass of masonry, three hundred cubits thick, one hundred and twenty feet high, and two miles in length. It was provided with thirty sluices, through which the water was conveyed into canals, for the irrigation of the fields and gardens of Máreb, and by means of which that city became, what Pliny styles it, "the mistress of cities, and the diadem on the brow of the universe."

* Caussin de Percival. † Pocock. ‡ Caussin de Percival.

The richness and prosperity of Máreb, caused by this reservoir, is a favourite theme with Arabian historians, who have handed down the most glowing accounts of its rich fields and orchards, and splendid edifices.

Musáoodi observes, that a good horseman could hardly ride over the cultivated grounds in this district in less than a month. The inhabitants enjoyed an unexampled measure of happiness and prosperity; the rule of their monarchs was mild and equitable; they were loved at home, and feared and respected abroad; they had waged no war in which they had not been victorious, and every invading force had yielded to their arms.*

Balkees was succeeded by Yásir, styled sometimes Málik, or Yasaseen, or Yásir Yoonim, or Yásir Anim, or Yáshir Yoonim, or Náshir Enniám, 'the distributor of benefits,' on account of his liberality, and the good he did to his subjects. According to some, he was the son of Shoorábheel, and the uncle of Balkees; according to others, the son of Dthoo'l-Adhar. He undertook an expedition into the *Maghrib* or west country, and advanced as far as the *Wádi-er-Raml*, or 'valley of sand,' which none had reached before him; a detachment of troops having essayed to cross this waste, perished, whereupon he raised a brazen monument close to its borders, with the inscription "Laisá warayí madthhab,"—*there is no way beyond me.* This suggests the fable of the Pillars of Hercules, with the legend '*Ne plus ultra.*'†

Yáshir Yoonim was succeeded by his son Shámmir Yerásh,—'he trembles,'—so called from a nervous affection to which he was subject. This prince was one of the greatest warriors who ever held the throne of Yemen: he carried his victorious arms into Irák, Persia, and the neighbouring countries, and attacked and partly destroyed the capital of Sogdiana, which obtained the name of Shámmir Kand, or 'Shámmir destroyed it' (modern Sammercand).‡

Evidences of this incursion in the form of Himyaritic inscriptions are recorded by Hamza and Ibn Haukál as having been found at Sammercand; one mentioned by Aboo'l-Féda began thus:—"In the name of God, this building was erected by Shámmir Yerásh, in honour of the Lord the Sun."

Shámmir then formed the project of extending his conquests to China, and proceeded through Toorkistan to the borders of India, and through Thibet, where he left a body of twelve thousand Arabs as an army of reserve. As he approached China, the wuzeer of the monarch of that country tendered his services, ostensibly to guide, but in reality to mislead him and effect the destruction of his army. He accordingly cut off his nose, and presented himself before Shámmir as a fugitive from the cruelty of the Chinese king: on being questioned as to the distance from that monarch's territories, he falsely

* Caussin de Percival; Pocock; Chesney; Crichton. † Caussin de Percival.
‡ Idem.

represented that it was but three days' journey. Shámmir took the Wuzeer into his confidence, and having attempted the journey with only three days' provisions, he and his army perished miserably in the sand.*

The only contemporary account we have of the commerce and navigation of Arabia about this period is contained in the *Periplus of the Erythræan Sea.* The precise date of this voyage has not been satisfactorily determined: Letronne supposes that the author wrote in the time of the Emperor Septimus Severus and his son, namely between the years 198 and 210 of the Christian era, and that the Charibael, mentioned as then reigning in Yemen and residing at Dthafár, must have been Káli Kárib-el-Himyári, or perhaps his successor Aboo Kárib-el-Himyári, and that the word Charibael is a corruption of one or other of these names, obtained by adopting the word *Kárib* in conjunction with the article *el,* or 'the.'

Dean Vincent, on the other hand, presumes it to have taken place about the tenth year of the reign of Nero (A.D. 64); or again, Charibael may be identified with Shoorahbeel, who reigned previous to Balkees, and subsequent to the invasion of Ælius Gallus. Without, however, presuming to settle this *vexata quæstio,* it will be sufficient to assume it as having occurred about this period, namely within a few years previous and subsequent to the advent of our Saviour.

From the narrative contained in the *Periplus* we learn, that at this period the Sabeans monopolised the commerce of India, and acted as the intermediate agents between the merchants of that country and those of Egypt;† that in the reign of Ptolemy Philometer (A.D. 177) the Greek sovereigns in Egypt had not traded directly to India, but had imported the commodities of that country from Sába, the capital of Arabia Felix; that the port of Berinicè was not used for this commerce, but that Myos Hormos or Arsénoè was still the emporium, and that there was no trade down the coast of Africa, except for elephants.‡

Shámmir Yerásh was succeeded by his son Aboo Málik, who formed a resolution to avenge his father's death; but changing his plans, after he had set out, perished with part of his army, when in search of certain emerald mines, said to be situated in the Maghreb.§

Zaid, commonly called Tobba-el-Akrán, succeeded his father Aboo Málik.

A.D. 90.

Aboo'l-Féda and Ahmed Dimishki intercalate between these two princes the successive reigns of two brothers, not of the house of Himyar, but of the tribe of Azd, and descendants of

* Aboo'l-Féda, p. 8. † Vincent's Periplus, vol. i. p. 31. ‡ Idem, p. 33.

§ Nowairi, p. 58; Hamza, p. 100; Aboo'l-Féda, p. 8; Caussin de Percival, apud Bom. Mag., vol. iii. p. 74.

Kahtán. These were Omrán and Amr, and they appear to have held sway over Máreb and part of Yemen, in which, owing to the disasters of the last two reigns, and the tender age of El-Akrán, great confusion and anarchy prevailed.

Their usurpation was not of long duration, but it gave rise to several important events. Omrán died after having reigned some time; others, however, say that he abdicated in favour of his brother Amr, who received the surname of Mozaikiya, or 'the tearer,' because he tore every evening the clothes which he had worn during the day, that they might not be used a second time.*

Omrán had the reputation of being a diviner or prophet, and it is said that, before his death, he warned his brother Amr of a great misfortune which was impending over their country. He bid him go to the great dam, and observe whether a rat was perforating it and rolling down great stones, in which case he might be assured that ruin was inevitable. Amr went forth, and observed that the rat was employed as his brother had foretold.†

As the prosperity of Máreb depended entirely on the existence of this dam, Amr, foreseeing its speedy destruction, determined to dispose of his property, and quit the country. Fearing, however, that he would have difficulty in disposing of it, should it be known that it was the fear of an inundation which induced him to do so, he conceived the following stratagem: he invited the principal inhabitants to a feast, and, by a preconcerted scheme, he caused a young orphan to strike him on the face, on being reproved for insolence; whereupon Amr exclaimed,—"Shame upon Amr! In the height of his glory a child has dared to insult him, and strike him upon the face." He instantly, ordered the execution of the youth, but, at the intercession of the guests, he subsequently pardoned him.

Feigning, however, to be overcome by the indignity which had been offered to him, he declared that he could no longer remain in Máreb, and immediately offered his property for sale. The inhabitants, fearing that in cooler moments he might repent of this determination, eagerly purchased it, and Amr, collecting the proceeds, emigrated with the greater part of his family. Some of these settled in the Hajáz, others in Irák and Syria, while several of the families of Azd remained in the country, and, according to Masäoodi, one of the chiefs of these, named Málek, the son of Elyemen, remained master of Máreb.‡

The predicted catastrophe at length took place: the dam, which had stood for nearly 1700 years, yielded to the pressure of water from within, and gave way, deluging the country far and wide, and carrying away the whole city, with the neighbouring towns and

A.D. 120.

* Aboo'l-Féda, p. 8; Caussin de Percival, apud Bom. Mag., vol. iii. p. 75.

† Caussin de Percival, apud Bom. Mag., vol. iii. p. 75. ‡ Idem.

villages, and reducing this fertile province to a state of utter desolation and ruin.

The era of this event, which is famous in Arabian story, and is mentioned in the Korán as the Sail-el-Arem, or 'rush of water from the reservoir,' has been variously fixed. Baidáwi and Kazweeni say that it occurred between Christ and Mahomed; Ibn Dooraid places it six hundred years before Islamism, or a few years prior to the birth of Christ; Hamza fixes it at about two hundred years after our era; Baron de Sacy has referred it to the period between A.D. 150 and A.D. 170; and according to the chronology of M. Caussin de Percival, which is here adopted, the date is assumed as being about A.D. 120.* According to Nowairi and Ibn Khaldoon, Tobba-el-Akrán occupied the throne of Yemen for about fifty years, namely from about A.D. 90 to A.D. 140. He undertook to avenge the death of his grandfather Shámmir Yerásh, and having marched in the steps of that monarch's army, he reached and rebuilt Sammercand, and subsequently carried war into the heart of China, destroyed its capital, and founded there a city, which Thäalebi calls El-Beet, where he left a colony of 30,000 Arabians. These still continued to exist as a distinct people, preserving the dress and manners of Arabia, when Hamedoun wrote, which was about A.D. 553.† This Tobba, after an absence of seven years, returned to his country laden with the spoils of China.‡

A.D. 140.

Dthoo Habshán succeeded his father, El-Akrán, and reigned from A.D. 140 to A.D. 150. Hamza and Aboo'l-Feda relate, that he led an expedition against the tribe of Tasm and Jadees, and exterminated them.§ The other historians bring down the destruction of those tribes as late as the reign of Hassan Tobba, A.D. 236 to A.D. 250. This discrepancy may be reconciled by assuming that their extermination was not the result of a single operation, and that Hassan Tobba completed what Dthoo Habshán had begun.

A.D. 150.

Dthoo Habshán was succeeded by his brother, whose name is unknown, and regarding whose history nothing is chronicled. Hamza tells us that he had a long reign, and was contemporary with Kinána, one of the ancestors of Mahommed.‖

A.D. 180.

Kali Kárib succeeded the preceding Tobba, his father, and reigned from A.D. 180 to A.D. 200. He is represented by Ibn Khaldoon as a weak monarch, who undertook no warlike operation, and was little respected by his people. The name of

* Caussin de Percival, apud Bom. Mag. vol. iii. p. 77.

† Nowairi, p. 58 to 60; Wright, p. 21. ‡ Nowairi, p. 72.

§ Hamza, p. 101; Aboo'l-Féda, p. 8; Caussin de Percival, apud Bom. Mag. vol. iii. p. 77.

‖ Caussin de Percival, apud Bom. Mag. vol. iii. p. 78.

Tobba Kárib is read by M. Fresnel in the Himyaritic inscription No. 5 of his collection.*

Tibbán-Asäad-Aboo-Káriba, or Aboo Kárib, the son of the preceding, reigned from about A.D. 200 to A.D. 236. He was one of the most illustrious of the Himyarite sovereigns, and is usually styled the middle Tobba: he extended his conquests further than any of his successors, and is mentioned in the Korán, chaps. 44 and 50.

A.D. 200.

During the two preceding reigns, several petty independent chiefs, bearing the titles Dthoo or Kail, ruled over provinces in Yemen: these were speedily subdued by Aboo Kárib, who reduced them under his sway, and restored the kingdom of Himyar to its former extent.

He then turned his attention to foreign conquest, and having collected a large army, invaded Chaldea (cir. A.D. 206). He then proceeded to the site of Heera, where he left behind such of his army as were unable to follow him, and continued his route. After penetrating Adirbiján, ravaging the Turkish territories, and defeating the Tartars with great slaughter, he returned to Yemen, laden with spoil.†

A.D. 206.

To this exploit succeeded the invasion of the Hejáz. The district of Yethrib, the modern Medina, was then inhabited by the Jewish tribes Koraizha and Nadheer, who were supposed to be descended from those who fled from Palestine before the army of Nebuchadnezzar, as well as the offspring of those who escaped after the destruction of the temple by Titus in A.D. 70.

Aboo Kárib reduced the Hejáz, and proceeded towards Syria, leaving one of his sons as governor of Yethrib. On his way thither he received intelligence that the inhabitants of Yethrib had rebelled, and slain his son; whereupon he instantly returned, determined to revenge his death, and laid siege to the city.

Two Jewish doctors sought him out, and justified their conduct, by informing him of the injuries and oppression they had suffered at his son's hands; they also assured him that he would not fail to incur the divine wrath if he persisted in his designs against the city, as it was destined to afford protection to a prophet, who should appear in the latter days, and who should take up his abode there, after being driven from his country. The Tobba yielded to their advice, and, in admiration of their profound wisdom, renounced idolatry, and, with his whole army, embraced Judaism.

He then engaged the two doctors to return with him to Yemen, to convert the inhabitants. On his way certain of the tribe of Hodháil met him, and described to him the rich treasure he might acquire by plundering the Käaba, or temple of Mecca. This they did to effect his destruction, as they were persuaded that God would not permit such sacrilege to pass unpunished; but,

* Caussin de Percival, apud Bom. Mag. vol. iii. p. 78. † Idem.

under the advice of the doctor, he rejected their proposition, and beheaded all who had endeavoured to induce him to plunder the shrine.

He then proceeded to the valley of Mecca, where he remained several months, making the circuit of the Käaba, and offering up every day magnificent sacrifices. He was the first who covered the Käaba with a tapestry of leather; he also provided it with a lock of gold.*

On his return to his kingdom, Aboo Kárib endeavoured to introduce Judaism into his country. His attempts were at first opposed, but finally his subjects agreed to submit the question of the superiority of the two religions to the ordeal of fire. There was in Yemen a place whence miraculous fire issued, which had the effect of consuming the guilty, leaving the innocent unscathed; thither the champions of the two creeds repaired, the ministers of the false gods bearing their idols, and the Jewish doctors with their books upon their breasts. On coming in contact with the fire, both parties drew back, but were pushed forward by the crowd. The Himyarites were consumed, but the Jews passed through without injury. This gained many proselytes to Judaism. Such is the legend of the introduction of this religion into Yemen.

A.D. 236. Aboo-Kárib subsequently set out on an expedition to conquer India, but he either died on the road, or was assassinated by the Himyarites, who could no longer bear his warlike humour.†

A.D. 237. On the death of Tobba Asäad Aboo Kárib, one Rábia, the son of Násr, of the tribe of Benoo Lakhim, of the race of Kahtán, succeeded to the throne. After he had reigned but one year he had an extraordinary vision: he called in the most distinguished soothsayers in his kingdom, and required them to reveal the vision and the interpretation of it. They requested him to make known the dream, but he replied that only he who could reveal the vision itself was capable of understanding the meaning of it. At last Sakeeh, an old man, who is said to have lived at least three or four hundred years, thus spake:—"Thou didst see a coal fall upon the Tehámа of Yemen; forthwith it ignited, and caused a fire which burnt up every living creature."—"Thou hast spoken truly," said the king; "but what doth this import?"—"I swear," said the sage, "by the serpents which crawl upon the burning and flinty soil, that the Abyssinians will invade this land, and make themselves masters of the whole country, from Abian (Aden) to Jorásh." The sage further predicted that this would not

* Nowairi, p. 60; Masäoodi, vol. i. p. 137; Wright, p. 23; Caussin de Percival, apud Bom. Mag. vol. iii. p. 80.

† Caussin de Percival, apud Bom. Mag. vol. iii. p. 80.

happen in the time of Rabia, and that the Abyssinian rule would last seventy years. Another soothsayer of equal reputation, being interrogated, predicted the same event.*

In consequence of this revelation, Rabia, in order to save his family from the misfortune which menaced his country, sent them into Irák, and commended them to a Persian prince named Saboor, the son of Khorazád, who settled them in the territory of Heera. Amongst the children of Rabia was one Adi, who espoused the sister of Jodhaima, king of a portion of Chaldea, and subsequently became head of the Lakhimite dynasty in Heera.

Rabia is not usually reckoned amongst the sovereigns of Yemen, but his case resembles that of Omrán and Amr Mozaikiya. It is probable that he was a Dthoo or Kail, who was master of several provinces, and reduced by Aboo Kárib, and that the legend of the vision was a fable invented by his descendants, to dignify their descent, and magnify a petty chieftain into a Himyarite Tobba.†

Hassan Tobba commenced to reign about A.D. 237, and reigned till A.D. 250. He was quite an infant when his father Aboo Kárib died, and during his minority, the sovereign power was exercised by a Jew of the Benoo Lakhim tribe. When he came of age, this Jew, who was probably his tutor or guardian, retired with his father to Heera.

Hassan Tobba completed the destruction of the tribe of Jadees, which, like that of Tásm, had been wasted by Dthoo Habshán.‡

Tásm and Jadees were sister tribes of the lineage of Tasm, who was descended in the third or fourth generation from Shem, through Aram. Nothing is certainly known concerning them, save the circumstance which caused their destruction. They occupied the rich and fertile country afterwards styled Yemáma, and had a common government.

At this time they were ruled by a Tasmite king of the name of Amlook; he grievously oppressed the Jadisites, and, amongst other cruelties, compelled them to bring to him all the young women of the tribe previous to marriage. For a long time he had exercised this seignorial right, and, amongst the victims of his lust, there was one named Ghofaira, a daughter of a high Jadisite family. In order to avenge this indignity, Asäad, the brother of the damsel, entered into a league with the other chieftains of the tribe, and invited Amlook and his household to a banquet. On a preconcerted signal, the conspirators seized their arms, which they had hid in the sand, and, falling upon Amlook and his tribe, massacred them; only one escaped, by name

* Caussin de Percival, apud Bom. Mag. vol. iii. p. 81. † Idem, p. 82. ‡ Idem, p. 158.

Ribáh, who fled to the Himyarite prince, and induced him to send an expedition against the Jadisites.*

Ribáh accompanied the Himyarite army, and when within three days' march of the principal stronghold of the Jadees, he informed Hassan Tobba that he had a sister named Zerka-el-Yemáma married to one of the Jadisites, who was possessed of such a wonderful power of vision that she could distinguish objects at a distance of several days' journey, and recommended that each soldier should carry before him branches of trees, to conceal the approach of the force. This advice was followed; but in spite of the precaution, Zerka-el-Yemáma descried the advancing army at a great distance, and informed the tribe that she saw a forest advancing, beyond which were the Himyarites. No heed was given to this warning, and when, a short time afterwards, she declared that she saw a soldier step out of the ranks to repair his sandal, she was laughed to scorn; and no preparations for defence being taken until it was too late, the Himyarites attacked and exterminated the Jadisites; only one escaped. Zerka-el-Yemáma was taken, and deprived of sight. When her eyes were extracted, it was found that the eye-ball was traversed with black fibres, and she avowed that she owed her wonderful eye-sight to a salve of powdered antimony. It has been said that she was the first Arab female who employed *kohl*, or collyrium.

The province of Ján, the seat of the Jadisites, was subsequently called after her, Yemáma. For a considerable time it remained unoccupied, but it was subsequently colonised by the Beni Haneefa tribe, who emigrated from the Hejáz.

Hassan Tobba, like his father, fell by the hand of an assassin. Eager for foreign conquest, he organised a large army, and overran several countries; when, at a place called Rabhat Málik, on the Euphrates, his principal officers conspired against him, and offered the throne to his brother Amr, on condition that he would kill him, and conduct them to their homes, which conditions he accepted and fulfilled.

A Himyarite chief endeavoured to dissuade Amr from his purpose, but being unsuccessful, he begged him to take care of a casket until he should reclaim it.

Amr Dthoo-el-Awád or Amr-el-Mauthabán succeeded his brother about A.D. 250, and reigned twenty years. The latter days of his life were embittered by the thought that he had obtained his crown through fratricide, and sleep forsook him; he consulted the soothsayers as to the cause of this state, and they agreed that it was a

A.D. 250.

* Caussin de Percival, apud Bom. Mag. vol. iii. p. 420.

judgment sent by God, which could only be removed by the punishment of all those who had instigated his brother's murder. He accordingly seized and executed them. He would have included the dissentient chief in the fate of his comrades, but the latter begged Amr to open the casket he had entrusted to him. It was found to contain a paper, inscribed with the following couplet:—

"Who would barter sleep for sleeplessness?—happy is he whose eyelids repose by night!

The Himyarites have dealt treacherously; but God is witness that Dthoo Rooäin was not their accomplice."

This recalled to the mind of Amr what had occurred between them, and he not only released but rewarded the loyal old chief.

Amr received the epithet Dthoo-el-Awád,—'the man with the litter,' or El-Mauthabán—'the sedentary,' because, worn out with care and disease, he was obliged to be carried about from place to place.*

Nowairi states that his people conspired against him, and put him to death.†

Hamza relates that he had read in an ancient history of Yemen that this prince was a contemporary of Shapoor I., the son of Ardsheer of Persia, who captured and flayed alive the Roman Emperor Valerian, and that the two following reigns coincided with that of Hormuzd I., son of Shapoor; hence it may be concluded that Amr's reign must have terminated about A.D. 270.‡

After the death of Amr Dthoo-el-Awád, his four sons reigned conjointly in Yemen for two years, namely from A.D. 270 to A.D. 272. They formed the design of attracting the great annual pilgrimage to Sanäa, by conveying thither the black stone of the temple of Mecca, which was held in the greatest veneration by all the Arabians. With this object, they led an army against Mecca, which was entirely defeated by the tribe of Benoo Kinána. Three of the kings were slain, and the fourth remained a prisoner in the hands of the conquerors.§

A.D. 270.

Abdhäa, son of Dthoo-el-Awád, succeeded his brothers; but his subjects, incensed at his misrule, conspired against and put him to death, after he had ruled one year.‖

A.D. 272.

The next sovereign of Yemen was Abd-Kelál, the son, according to Aboo'l-Féda, of Amr Dthoo-el-Awád, or the son of Mathroob, a descendant of Himyar. He reigned from A.D. 273 to A.D. 279, and is said to have embraced Christianity, though, from the fear of his subjects, he never openly professed it. He was converted by a

A.D. 273.

* Caussin de Percival, apud Bom. Mag. vol. iii. p. 160.

† Nowairi, p. 72.

‡ Caussin de Percival, apud Bom. Mag. vol. iii. p. 160.

§ Idem, vol. iii. p. 161.

‖ Idem.

Syrian, and when his subjects heard that the monarch had abjured their ancient faith, they slew the Syrian who had effected his conversion.*

It is difficult to assign the precise era at which Christianity was introduced into Arabia; it is the universal belief of the Eastern churches that St. Thomas preached in Arabia Felix and Socotra on his way to India (about A.D. 50), where he suffered martyrdom; and it is said that the rudiments of the religion of the cross were first implanted amongst the Himyarites by St. Bartholomew.† It is also recorded that St. Pantenus was sent by Demetrius, bishop of Alexandria, to preach in Arabia Felix, and that he there found traces of the labours of St. Bartholomew,—amongst others, a copy of St. Matthew's Gospel, written in the Hebrew character, which he brought away with him to Alexandria.‡

A.D. 297.

But it was not till the next reign, that of Tobba the son of Hassan, from A.D. 297 to A.D. 320, that Christianity seems to have made any considerable progress, or its existence to have been generally known in Arabia.

This prince was very young when his father was assassinated by Amr Dthoo-el-Awád, and he disappeared immediately after that event; but on his return after the death of Abd-Kelál, he was unanimously elected sovereign of Yemen.

Hamza asserts that he embraced Judaism, and adorned anew the temple of Mecca; that Mecca and Medina were subject to him, and that he placed his sister's son Amr as king over the Mäadites.§

It is probably in the reign of this prince, or of his successor, that an event pregnant with importance to Arabia took place. This was the establishment of the Christian church in Abyssinia, amongst a people who have preserved Christianity as the dominant religion to the present day, though surrounded on every side by Mahomedan and pagan tribes.

It is related by ecclesiastical historians that one Meropius, a philosopher, and by birth a Tyrian, in company with two youths who were related to him, set out on a voyage of discovery to the country of the Indians. On his return, he anchored in a port which had a safe and commodious harbour, for the sake of procuring necessary provisions.

It happened that, a little before his arrival there, the league between the Indians and the Romans had been broken. The Indians therefore took the philosopher, and those who were with him in the ship, and put them to death, with the exception of his two kinsmen, whom they presented to the king.

* Caussin de Percival, apud Bom. Mag. vol. iii. p. 162. † Euseb. Hist. Eccl. vol. iii. p. 1.
‡ Pagett, part ii. p. 16; Caussin de Percival, apud Bom. Mag. vol. iii. p. 161.
§ Wright, p. 36; Hamza, p. 104.

The latter was so much pleased with the youths, that he made one of them, whose name was Ædesius, his cup-bearer, and to the other, whose name was Frumentius, he entrusted the custody of his accounts and archives. Not long afterwards, the king died, leaving a widow, and a son who was a minor, and therefore incapable of assuming the reins of government; but previously he had given the two young Tyrians their liberty.

The queen entreated them to undertake the guardianship of her son, and of his kingdom, until he should arrive at years of discretion; they acceded to her request, and Frumentius was more particularly distinguished for his fidelity and administrative ability.

He sought out all the Roman Christians in the country, and, having built them an oratory, he instructed some Indians in the doctrines of Christianity, and they were admitted to participation in the worship.

When the king had obtained maturity, Frumentius sought and obtained permission to return to his own country. Ædesius accompanied him, and at once hastened to Tyre to see his relations; while Frumentius, whose religious zeal was greater than the natural feeling of filial affection, remained at Alexandria, and related all that had befallen them to the great Athanasius, who had recently been elevated to that bishopric.

He represented that there was a reasonable hope of the Indians embracing Christianity, and suggested that a bishop and clergy should be sent there, in order that they might not lack the means of instruction in the religion of Christ.

Athanasius assembled his clergy, and having taken into consideration what was most expedient to be done, entreated Frumentius to take upon himself the bishopric, as it was the unanimous opinion of himself and the heads of the church, that no one could more appropriately be selected to govern the church in that country than he who had been instrumental in planting it there.

Frumentius was accordingly consecrated, and returned about A.D. 326 to the country of the Indians, where he built many churches, and contributed greatly by his life and doctrine to the propagation of the Christian religion there.* He is also said to have performed various miracles, healing diseases both of the body and soul. Ruffinus asserts that he had the above particulars from Ædesius, who was afterwards inducted into the sacred office at Tyre.

The scene of this transaction has been laid by some authors in Arabia Felix, and by others, with greater probability, in Axum; both Arabians and Abyssinians were known by the designation of *Indians*, and it is known that Frumentius, a bishop, was deposed in A.D. 356, by the successor of Athanasius, for Arianism.

* Socrates' Schol. lib. i. cap. xix.; Wright, p. 29; Theodoret, p. 60; Sozomen, p. 86.

Harith, the son of Amr, the son of Hassan Tobba, succeeded his uncle, and reigned from A.D. 320 to A.D. 330. He is mentioned by no other historians than Aboo'l-Féda and Ahmed Dimishki, and the only circumstance known of him is, that he was a zealous disciple of Judaism.*

A.D. 320.

Marthád, the son of Abd-Kilál, reigned from A.D. 330 to A.D. 350. He appears to have been a wise and tolerant prince, and was in the habit of declaring that he ruled the bodies and not the souls of his subjects; that all he exacted was obedience to his laws; and as for their religion, that was a matter between them and their Creator. His liberality equalled his tolerance, and he was universally beloved by his subjects.

A.D. 330.

It is supposed that it was to this prince the Emperor Constantius sent an embassy about A.D. 342, headed by Theophilus Indus, an Indian bishop, and a native of the island of Diu. The object of Constantius in sending this mission was to strengthen himself against the Persians, by an alliance with the Himyarites, and to convert the inhabitants of Yemen. He brought rich presents, amongst which were two hundred horses of the pure breed of Capadocia; and it is said that his eloquence, seconded by the magnificence of the gifts which he brought, induced the Himyarite prince to embrace Christianity. This fact is doubtful—it may have been that Marthád's toleration was mistaken for conversion; it is certain, however, that one great end of the mission was accomplished, and Theophilus, despite the violent opposition of the Jews, obtained permission to build churches for the subjects of the emperor travelling through, or residing in, Arabia Felix, as well as for such of the Himyarites as had been converted to Christianity. These churches were erected, one at Dthafár, the royal residence, another at Aden, a mart of the great transit trade between India and Europe, and a third at a Persian port in the Arabian sea, which is supposed to have been the island of Hormuzd.†

A.D. 342.

According to Philostorges, the inhabitants of Yemen at that time were partly Jews and partly pagans, but the latter predominated; circumcision on the eighth day after birth was practised by both. The latter offered sacrifices to the sun and moon, and to several other deities, to whom they erected temples. One of these, called Rayám, at Sanáa, is particularly mentioned.‡

The mission of Theophilus, which is not mentioned by Arabian historians, does not appear to have been followed by any other effect than the building of

* Caussin de Percival, apud Bom. Mag. vol. iii. p. 163; Aboo'l-Féda, p. 10.

† Caussin de Percival, apud Bom. Mag. vol. iii. p. 163; Wright, p. 33; Nicephorus, lib. ix. cap. xviii.

‡ Caussin de Percival, apud Bom. Mag. vol. iii. p. 164; Philostorges, p. 444.

churches. If any of the inhabitants were converted, their numbers were insignificant.*

Asseman considers that Theophilus merely converted the few who were already Christians to the Arian heresy, of which he was a zealous adherent.† Probably the greater number of these were Roman subjects, and Jews were frequently confounded with Christians. The district where the latter were principally to be found was Nejrán.‡

Wália or Wákia, the son of Marthád, succeeded his father about A.D. 350, and reigned twenty years; during which period great disorders prevailed in his kingdom, and many of the Kails and Dthoos rebelled, and usurped independent authority. This prince is described as being of a very fickle nature: he first became a disciple of Judaism, then he favoured Christianity, and subsequently he seemed to vacillate between the two religions.

A.D. 350.

Probably the disorganised state of his reign, as recorded by Aboo'l-Féda, Ahmed Dimishki, and Ibn Khaldoon, may be attributed in fact to the encroachments of the Abyssinians, who appear at this time to have held parts of Arabia Felix; as we learn from the inscription found by Mr. Salt at Axum, that in the fourth century of our era, the Axumite sovereign Æizonas arrogated to himself the title of "King of the Himyarites,"§ and that he sent his two brothers into Arabia, who subdued the Himyarites and several other tribes, and brought away a great number of captives, with sheep, oxen, and beasts of burden.

Abrahá, the son of Sabbah, reigned from A.D. 370 to A.D. 400. He was contemporary with the Persian monarch Shapoor II., and is described as a liberal and intelligent prince, who ruled his subjects with prudence and moderation.‖

A.D. 370.

Abrahá was succeeded by Sahbán, the son of Moobrith, cousin of Abrahá according to Nowairi. Hamza states that he reigned at the same time as Yezdijerd I. and his son Bahramgor of Persia.¶

A.D. 400.

Sabbah, grandson of Abrahá, succeeded the preceding in A.D. 440, and reigned till A.D. 460. He was contemporary with Yezdijerd II. He was a brave and intelligent prince, but the only circumstance recorded of him is, that he made a tour through

A.D. 440.

* Caussin de Percival, apud Bom. Mag. vol. iii. p. 164.

† Asseman's Bib. Orient. tom. iii.; Wright, p. 35.

‡ Wright, p. 36; Aboo'l-Féda, apud Pocock's Spec. Hist. Arab. p. 141

§ Caussin de Percival, apud Bom. Mag. vol. iii. p. 165.

‖ Idem; Aboo'l-Féda, p. 10; Hamza, p. 104; Nowairi, p. 74.

¶ Caussin de Percival, apud Bom. Mag. vol. iii. p. 165.

Nejd, to ascertain if the Arabs of Rabia were submissive to his authority. During his reign, Amr Dthoo Keefán ruled over a considerable part of Yemen.*

Hassan Dthoo Moáher, the son of Amr, reigned from A.D. 460 to A.D. 478. It is supposed that he was identical with the prince styled Dthoo Keefán by Jennábi and Ahmed Dimishki. He had a famous sword, called 'Samsama,' which subsequently fell into the hands of Amr the son of Mäadi Kárib, of the tribe of Zobaid. In spite of very excellent qualities, he failed to consolidate his empire, which continued to decrease in strength, and the Dthoos and Kails still maintained their independence. The seat of his government was Dthafár.†

A.D. 460.

After the death of Hassan the son of Amr, one Lakhnia‡ Tanoof, surnamed Dthoo Shenátir, or 'the wearer of the earrings,' succeeded. He was not of the royal family, but usurped the government of Yemen, and overcame all who attempted to resist him. He took possession of the castle of Ghoomdán, where he reigned quietly for ten years, after which he broke forth into every species of cruelty.

A.D. 478.

He had secured his authority by putting to death all such of the blood royal as were of sufficient age to have disputed the throne with him; those who were not, he dishonoured, in order to prevent them nourishing the hope of attaining the supreme power. He caused all the youths of noble families to be brought to his chamber, and he did not dismiss them until he had accomplished his infamous designs. The scene of this brutality was an upper chamber with a window looking into a court, guarded by soldiers; when the king appeared at this window, to clean his teeth, it was a sign for the soldiers to enter and remove the victim.§

A.D. 488.

One prince of the family of Asäad Aboo Kárib alone remained: he was a youth of singular beauty, named Zaräa, whose flowing locks had gained for him the appellation of Dthoo Nowás—'of the flowing hair.' He was seized, and conveyed to the fatal pavilion; but it was to avenge, and not to share the ignominy of his unhappy kindred. He had a dagger concealed about his person, with which he stabbed the tyrant, and, having cut off his head, he displayed it at the window, with the tooth-brush in his mouth, which the soldiers perceiving, they opened the doors, and permitted Dthoo Nowás to go forth.

* Caussin de Percival, apud Bom. Mag. vol. iii. p. 165. † Idem, p. 166.

‡ According to Masäoodi, his name was لخنيعة (Lakhteäa).

§ Caussin de Percival, apud Bom. Mag. vol. iii. p. 166; MS. in British Museum, No. 6930.

The news of this deed was hailed with universal joy, and Dthoo Nowás was with one consent proclaimed sovereign of Yemen.* He reigned from A.D. 490 to A.D. 525, and became a zealous partisan of Judaism, which, in consequence, made great progress in his day. His conversion is ascribed by some to his having witnessed the fire consecrated to a demon extinguished by a Jewish teacher reading several passages from the Pentateuch over it; and by others to his having acquired a predilection for that religion when on a visit to Yathrib, then partly inhabited by Jews and partly by heathen. On his change of religion he assumed the name of Yoosoof.†

A.D. 490.

The religious fanaticism and natural cruelty of Dthoo Nowás led him to persecute in a most unrelenting manner all the Christians within his dominions, who had of late greatly increased in number; and the Roman merchants engaged in the Ethiopian trade were amongst the first to feel its effects. But the great atrocity of his reign, and one which has hardly a parallel in history, if we except the modern massacre of Cawnpore, committed by a kindred spirit, was a fearful act of barbarity, committed upon the Beni Tháleb tribe at Nejrán, who had embraced the religion of Christ at the preaching of a Syrian. The punishment which this crime entailed upon him was commensurate with its enormity—no less than the entire extinction of the Himyarite dynasty.

The legend of the conversion of the Beni Tháleb is as follows:—There was in Syria a very pious Christian named Fumiyoon, who led an ascetic life, and travelled about from place to place, leaving each residence as the fame of his virtues, and the efficacy of his prayers, became known. He had a faithful disciple named Sáleh, who followed him in all his wanderings. On leaving one place, where the report of his cures had made the people importunate, they travelled over a part of Arabia, till they were met by a party of Bedouins, who took them prisoners, and conveyed them to Nejrán, where they sold them as slaves.

Fumiyoon was purchased by one of the principal men of the town. On retiring to rest for the night, he began to pray, and immediately a supernatural light filled the apartment. This miracle led his master to make inquiries regarding the Christian religion: his slave replied,—"My God is the only God; His alone is the power and majesty; the palm-tree which you worship is devoid of power, and would be immediately destroyed were I to invoke against it the God whom I serve." His master replied,—"Pray then to your God to destroy the object of our worship, and we will embrace yours."

* Caussin de Percival, apud Bom. Mag. vol. iii. p. 167. † Idem.

Fumiyoon prayed, and a speedy answer was vouchsafed to his supplication; for God sent a scorching wind, which dried up the roots of the tree, and it fell;—whereupon most of the inhabitants of Nejrán embraced Christianity.*

Another tradition is related by Ibn Ishák. A young man, named Abdulla, the son of Thámir, witnessing the prayers of a holy man, also styled Fumiyoon, was much struck with the spectacle, and, becoming a disciple of the stranger, eventually became a Christian. He discovered the 'great name of God,' whereby miracles are wrought, by writing various names on arrows, and shooting them into the fire one after another; all were burnt excepting that whereon was inscribed the great name, which passed through the fire uninjured.

Having acquired this knowledge, he went about healing the sick, upon the condition that they abjured idolatry and embraced his religion: thus all the people in Nejrán who were afflicted with any disease were healed, and renounced paganism.

The prince of the district summoned Abdulla, and accusing him of corrupting the minds of his subjects, ordered him to be thrown from a precipice—but he fell down unhurt; he was then flung into a pit of water, but with the same result: at last Abdulla informed the prince that he had no power against him unless he embraced the Christian religion. The latter repeated the protestation of faith, and then struck Abdulla slightly with a cane, whereupon he fell down lifeless, and the prince died at the same moment. The greater number of the inhabitants of Nejrán were struck at this occurrence, and changed their religion for that of Christ.†

Upon the pretext of the murder of two Jews by the people of Nejrán, Dthoo Nowás took up arms against them, and besieged the city with 120,000 men; but failing to take it by force, he had recourse to stratagem. He assured the inhabitants, upon oath, that no evil should happen to them if they opened their gates: upon the faith of this assurance they surrendered; but no sooner had Dthoo Nowás entered the town, than he plundered it, and gave the inhabitants their choice between Judaism and death.

They preferred the latter: accordingly large pits were dug, and filled with burning fuel, and all who refused to abjure their faith, amounting, it is said, to 20,000, including priests, monks, consecrated virgins and matrons, who had embraced a monastic life, were either cast into the flames or slain by the sword. Amongst the victims was the chief man of the town, whom Mahomedan writers call Abdulla the son of Thámir, and ecclesiastical historians Aretas the son of Calib, by which name he has been admitted into the

* Caussin de Percival, apud Bom. Mag. vol. iii. p. 169; Hamza, p. 106.

† Caussin de Percival, apud Bom. Mag. vol. iii. p. 170.

Roman calendar of saints.* Little doubt exists that these two names represent the same individual, since Abdulla certainly belonged to the family of Hárith the son of Käab, and it is probable that the former was his proper or Christian name, and the latter that of his family.†

The heroism of a Nejranite matron, and of her son, who threw themselves into the flames, gave rise to the following fable, recorded by El-Masäoodi:—a woman, with a child of seven months, refused to abjure her religion; she was taken to the burning pit, and when she was frightened, God gave speech to her infant, and it said,—"Go on, mother, in thy faith! thou wilt not meet a fire after this." They both perished in the flames.‡

The Tobba next caused the ashes of the bishop Paul, who had died some time before, to be disinterred, and scattered to the winds; after which he retired with his army to Sanäa.§

This tragedy obtained for Dthoo Nowás the epithet of 'the lord of the burning pit,' and the fidelity of the martyrs, or 'brethren of the pit,' is commended in the Korán,‖ where an anathema is pronounced on their persecutor.¶

According to Greek and Syrian writers, an embassy had been sent about this time by Justin I. to the 'mondár' or king of the Arabs of Heera, to endeavour to detach them from their dependence on Persia; a presbyter named Abraham, the son of Euphrasius, was charged with the mission. When he reached the camp of the Arab chief, a messenger had just arrived from the Himyarite king, detailing the success of his measures for exterminating the Christians, and suggesting the adoption of similar ones at Heera. The bishop immediately wrote a full account of the tragedy to the emperor, and implored him to take up the cause of the martyrs.**

It is also related by Mahomedan historians,†† that Doos Dthoo Thálibán, one of the few Christians of Nejrán who had escaped the persecution of the Himyarite monarch, traversed Arabia, Syria, and Asia Minor, and at last reached the Court of Constantinople, where he implored the emperor to espouse the cause of his persecuted brethren in Yemen. Justin was well disposed to listen favourably to this appeal; but the distance of Arabia, as well as the political state of his own dominions, prevented his personal interference; he however wrote letters to the king of Abyssinia, requesting him to send troops into Yemen for the punishment of Dthoo Nowás.‡‡

* Caussin de Percival, apud Bom. Mag. vol. iii. p. 171; Aboo'l-Féda, p. 10; Hamza, p. 106; Nowairi, p. 80; Tabiri, p. 106; Masäoodi, p. 140.

† Caussin de Percival, apud Bom. Mag. vol. iii. p. 172.

‡ Masäoodi, p. 133.

§ Wright, p. 56.

‖ Korán, chap. lxxxv.

¶ Crichton, p. 89.

** Wright, p. 56.

†† Nowairi, p. 82; Tabiri, p. 166; Hamza, p. 106.

‡‡ Wright, p. 56; Caussin de Percival, apud Bom. Mag. vol. iii. p. 172; MS. in British Museum, No. 6930.

The sovereign who reigned in Abyssinia at this time was a Christian; he is styled by the Greek writers Elisbaas, and by the Ethiopians Caleb, or Amda. Agreeably to the request of Justin, he commenced to make warlike preparations for the conquest of Yemen. He caused seven hundred small vessels to be constructed, and, in addition to these, he was furnished by the Roman emperor with large ships from the Egyptian ports in the Red Sea. In this fleet he embarked his army, which amounted to 60,000 men, and, crossing over the Arabian Gulf, landed them at the port of Ghalifica.*

Dthoo Nowás, on the first intimation of the approaching invasion, had applied for assistance to the Kails and Dthoos, who were tributary to him. These refused to send contingents to his army, but declared that each would defend his own territories. Notwithstanding this defection, the Himyarite prince succeeded in raising a considerable army, with which he marched to oppose the advance of the army. He encountered the Abyssinian army, under Aryát, shortly after its disembarkation; a battle ensued on the sea coast, in which the Himyarites were entirely defeated. The Tobba fled from the field of battle, but, being closely pursued and hemmed in by his enemies, he leaped his horse into the sea and was drowned.†

A.D. 525.

Aryát then penetrated into Yemen almost unopposed; Dthafár, which was unprepared for a siege, immediately surrendered to him;—in a very short time he subdued the greater part of the country, and, in order to make his conquest more secure, razed the walls of some of the most important fortresses.‡

One Himyarite prince, by the name of Dthoo Jadán, for some time disputed the advance of the Abyssinians. He received the appellation of Dthoo Jadán from having a remarkably sweet voice, and it is said that he was the first who cultivated the art of singing in Yemen.

After a battle with Aryát, in which he was completely routed, he followed the example of his predecessor, and destroyed himself, by plunging into the sea.

Several Himyarite kings are mentioned by Arab historians as having reigned subsequent to the conquest of Yemen by the Abyssinians. Amongst these are Marthád the son of Dthoo Jadán, and another is Alkáma Dthoo Keefán, the son of Sharaheel, the son of Dthoo Jadán, who governed the district of Hamdán, by the people of which he was slain. It is probable either that the

* Caussin de Percival, apud Bom. Mag. vol. iii. p. 173.—Ghalifica was once a famous city, and the seaport of Zebeed; it is equidistant between that town and Bait-el-Fukeeh. The harbour is now so much filled up that no vessel, however small, can enter it.—Neibuhr, vol. i. p. 278.

† Caussin de Percival, apud Bom. Mag. vol. iii. p. 173. ‡ Idem.

country was not entirely subdued, or that some Himyarite princes continued to rule as vassals of the king of Abyssinia.*

Thus terminated the Himyarite dynasty, which had ruled in Yemen for two thousand years. Its power had long been on the decline, but its downfall was accelerated by the intolerance of the Jewish Tobbas, which induced them to persecute with unrelenting fury the disciples of Jesus. These latter, neglecting the precepts of their divine Master, were in many instances only too ready to repay by equally bitter persecutions the injuries they had received at the hands of the Jews; and to this circumstance may be attributed in some measure the shortness of their rule.

* Caussin de Percival, apud Bom. Mag. vol. iii. p. 174.

CHAPTER XI.

YEMEN DURING THE ABYSSINIAN OCCUPATION.

In consequence of the brilliant victories of Aryát, he was confirmed in the government of Yémen, and reigned as viceroy of the Negáshi or king of Abyssinia from A. D. 525 to A. D. 537.

A.D. 525.

It is said by several Arabian historians that he received orders from his master to destroy a third part of the country of the Himyarites, to massacre a third of the males, and to send a third part of the females in captivity to Abyssinia; and it is related that he executed these cruel instructions, at least in part.*

He also enriched the chiefs of the army with the spoils of Yemen, to the entire exclusion of the soldiery, whom he taxed with the most arduous duties, employing them on various public works, without supplying them with the bare necessaries of life. They soon began to manifest their discontent at this treatment, and recognised Abrahá as their chief. This Abrahá was a Christian; he had been the slave of a Roman merchant at Adulis, and had afterwards risen to high rank in the Abyssinian army.†

Aryát marched at the head of such of his troops as remained faithful to him against his rival: when the two parties met, it was proposed by Abrahá that, instead of hazarding a civil war, and permitting the soldiers to destroy each other, the question should be decided by single combat. To this Aryát agreed, and the two champions prepared for the conflict. Abrahá was short and corpulent, while his antagonist was tall, strong, and well made. The latter was the first to strike his adversary with a pike, but, missing his aim, instead of cleaving his skull, he only succeeded in slightly wounding his forehead and nose, the latter of which was slit open. This wound afterwards left a deep scar, which procured for Abrahá the title of El-Ashram, or 'the split-nosed.' Abrahá had an attendant with him, named Atwáda, who, seeing his master wounded, flew to his assistance, and slew Aryát; whereupon, although the victory had been obtained by treachery, all the troops went over to Abrahá, who thus became ruler of Yemen without opposition.‡ He reigned from A.D. 537 to A.D. 570.

A.D. 537.

* Caussin de Percival, apud Bom. Mag. vol. iii. p. 189.

† Idem, p. 177; Wright, p. 89; Nowairi, p. 89.

‡ Caussin de Percival, apud Bom. Mag. vol. iii. p. 177; Wright, p. 90; Tabiri, p. 110.

Abrahá, in his gratitude, is said to have offered to comply with any desire which this slave might express; the latter requested that no bride in Yemen should be conducted to the bridegroom, until he had enjoyed her. The viceroy considered himself bound to fulfil his promise, and the request was granted. The slave was subsequently slain by a bridegroom whom he had insulted, and Abrahá had no desire to avenge his death, which rather gratified him.*

When the intelligence of the murder of Aryát reached the ears of the Negáshi, he vowed, in the first transports of his rage, that he would never lay aside his arms until he had trampled under his feet the land of Abrahá, till he had stained his hands in his blood, and had dragged him by the hair of the head. Abrahá no sooner heard of this, than he caused a sack to be filled with earth, he suffered himself to be bled, and filled a small bottle with his blood, to which he added some locks of hair, cut from his head. These he enclosed in a rich casket, and sent them to Negáshi, with a letter to the following effect:—"O king! Aryát and I were both thy servants; he merited his death, by tyranny and injustice. Empty, therefore, the earth out of this sack, and tread it beneath thy feet—it is the land of Himyar; stain thy hands with my blood, which is contained in this bottle; and drag with thy hand this hair, which I have myself cut from my head: thus, having fulfilled thine oath, turn away from me thine anger, for I am still one of thy servants!"† The king was appeased, and confirmed Abrahá in the government of Yemen, after he had solemnly promised for ever to continue his tribute to the Abyssinian crown.‡

Abrahá followed the example of his predecessor, in oppressing the Himyarites: amongst other outrages, he is said to have carried off Rihána, wife of Aboo Mourra Saif, the son of Dthoo Yazán, by whom he had a son, called Mäadi Kárib. She afterwards bore a son and a daughter to Abrahá, named Masrook and Bessása. Abrahá already had, by another wife, two sons, named Amooda and Yaskoom; the former of whom, after having been admitted by his father to a share in the government, made himself so unpopular, through tyranny and oppression, that he was assassinated. Abrahá, not being of a sanguinary nature, did not avenge the murder of his son.§

The reign of Abrahá was favourable to the extension of Christianity in Yemen: a bishop, whom the patriarch of Alexandria had sent there, and whom the Roman church reckons in her catalogue of saints as St. Gregentius, fixed his residence at Dthafár. He drew up a code of laws, which was published by the viceroy.‖ The harsh measures which had been adopted towards the Jews

* Tabiri; Wright, p. 94. † Wright, p. 90; Nowairi, p. 34; Tabiri, p. 110; Masäoodi, p. 142.
‡ Wright, p. 91. § Caussin de Percival, apud Bom. Mag. vol. iii. p. 178.
‖ The original of this MS., written in Greek, is to be found in the Imperial Library of Vienna.—Caussin de Percival, apud Bom. Mag. vol. iii. p. 179.

and other enemies of Christianity were succeeded by others more consonant to the mild spirit of that religion; the unbelievers were challenged to public disputations with St. Gregentius, in the royal hall, in the city of Dthafár; the viceroy and his nobles were present, and a learned Rabbi named Herbanus was chosen to advocate the cause of Judaism. The dispute lasted three days, and resulted in the conversion of Herbanus and many of his followers to Christianity.* The religious zeal of Gregentius was powerfully seconded by Abrahá, who is universally allowed by Greek and Arabian authors to have been a just prince, a zealous Christian, and charitable to the needy and unfortunate.†

Abrahá is said to have built a church at Sanäa, which was the wonder of the age. The emperor of Rome and the king of Abyssinia supplied marble and workmen for its construction, and it is related by Nowairi that, when completed, a pearl was placed on the altar, of such brilliancy that, on the darkest night, objects were clearly seen by its light! The viceroy, deeply grieved to see the vast multitudes who still performed their idol worship at the Käaba of Mecca, endeavoured to substitute his church for the object of their superstitious reverence,—probably, also, he wished to divert the valuable trade of Mecca to his own territories; but his persuasions were without avail, and the Arabs would not abandon their ancient customs. He accordingly issued an order, that all the Arabs in the neighbourhood should perform the pilgrimage to his church at Sanäa; he also sent missionaries to the Hejáz and Nejd, to invite the inhabitants of those parts to visit it, and he wrote to Negáshi, and told him that he intended forcing the Arabs to abandon the Käaba, and substitute this temple as the object of their pilgrimage.

This design was speedily known throughout Arabia, and excited the indignation of all the pagan tribes, but especially of the custodians of the Käaba, who foresaw that the prosperity of this new Christian church would overthrow their own greatness. Accordingly, on the arrival of Abrahá's messengers in the Hejáz, they were badly received, and one was murdered by a man of the tribe of Kinána.

Another man of the same tribe was bribed by the guardians of the Käaba, and, having proceeded to Sanäa, was successful in obtaining employment in the church. Seizing the opportunity of the preparation for a high festival, he entered the sacred edifice by night, and defiled it with filth.‡ The wrath of

* An edition of this disputation, in Greek and Latin, is given in the Magna Bibliotheca Veterum Patrum, vol. xi., entitled "Gregentii Tepherensis Episcopi Disputatio cum Herbano Judaeo."—Wright, p. 93.

† Caussin de Percival, apud Bom. Mag. vol. iii. p. 179; Wright, p. 93.

‡ Caussin de Percival, apud Bom. Mag. vol. iii. p. 179; Wright, p. 96.

Abrahá was inflamed at this indignity, and having discovered the author of it, he vowed to take signal vengeance, by the total destruction of Mecca and its Käaba.

He accordingly collected an army of 40,000 men, and having headed it, mounted on a white elephant of great size and beauty, he proceeded against Mecca.* A.D. 570.

He routed in a single battle the inhabitants of the Tehâma, who had refused to transfer their religious allegiance to Sanäa, and he seized all the cattle in the neighbourhood of Táef, amongst which were two hundred camels belonging to Abd-el-Motalib ibn Hasjemi, the grandfather of Mahommed, who was then chief of the Koraish, and guardian of the sacred temple.† The appearance of this formidable army before Mecca spread the direst consternation amongst the Koraish, who in vain offered Abrahá large sums of money to induce him to abandon his designs. Abd-el-Motalib begged for an interview with the viceroy; he was admitted into his presence, and treated with every mark of honorable distinction; but the chief had only come to ask restoration of his plundered camels. Abrahá asked why he made so insignificant a request, and abstained from interceding on behalf of the Käaba. Abd-el-Motalib replied that the camels were his own property, while the temple belonged to the gods, who would assuredly protect it, as they had always hitherto done. The camels were restored, but the temple was left to the protection of its own sanctity.

On the nearer approach of Abrahá, the Koraish, and all the inhabitants of Mecca, retired to the mountains and fortresses in its vicinity, after first having implored the aid of their gods in a pathetic hymn.‡

According to Mahomedan authors, the deities were not importuned in vain; and the Christian army, after having approached the walls of Mecca, was destroyed in a miraculous manner: Abrahá advanced on his famous elephant Mahmood, but, though it evinced readiness to move in every other direction, it could not be induced to enter the sacred walls; the other elephants, thirteen in number, evinced the same reluctance. At length, a dense flight of birds from the sea coast, called Ababeel, overspread the hostile force: each carried three small pebbles, of the size of a lentil, one in each claw, and one in the beak, which they let fall with such violence as to pierce through the armour of the soldiers, killing both men and elephants. Most of the invaders who escaped death by this means perished in the desert, and Abrahá, with a very

* Caussin de Percival, apud Bom. Mag. vol. iii. p. 180; Wright, p. 97; Nowairi, pp. 86, 90.

† Crichton, p. 92.

‡ Wright, p. 98; Crichton, p. 92.

small remnant of his army, reached Sanäa, where he soon after died of a loathsome disease.

These events, well known in Arabian history as 'the war of the elephant,'* took place in the same year as that which gave birth to Mahommed. It has been suggested that the fable of the birds was invented by the prophet himself, in order to augment the national reverence for the Käaba, and that the Christian host was destroyed by an epidemic disease, most probably small-pox. Others have imagined that they perished from want of provisions, or were destroyed by the Koraish, who, lining the hills above the passes leading to the city, discharged stones upon the assailants.†

Abrahá was succeeded by his son Yascoom, by Rihána, wife of Saif the Himyarite. He reigned two years, namely from A.D. 570 to A.D. 572. Arabian authors accuse him of cruelty and tyrannic oppression, and narrate that under him the Abyssinians ravished the women, killed the men, and made slaves of the children. This cruelty inclined many to seek the protection of the Koraish, whose victory over his predecessor had raised them in importance in the estimation of Arab tribes. The Greek writers, on the other hand, styled him Serdius or Serdeed, and inform us that he resembled his father in justice and piety.‡

Masrook succeeded his brother Yascoom, whose tyranny he emulated and surpassed; he reigned, according to Masäoodi, for three years, namely from A.D. 572 to A.D. 575, and was the last of the Abyssinians who governed Yemen.§

A.D. 572.

The advantages to the Negáshi from the conquest of this province appear to have been very trifling; for the troops sent over became so enamoured of the country that they permanently settled there, and soon broke every tie, save a nominal allegiance to the parent state. Their rulers, too, assumed the manners and style of royalty, and considered themselves almost in the light of independent princes.

* Koran, chap. xv. † Wright, p. 99; Crichton, p. 93.

‡ Caussin de Percival, apud Bom. Mag. vol. iii. p. 180; Wright, p. 145; Tabiri, p. 126; Masäoodi, p. 144; Greg. Tepher. Epis. Disput. p. 204.

§ Caussin de Percival, apud Bom. Mag. vol. iii. p. 180.

CHAPTER XII.

YEMEN DURING THE PERSIAN OCCUPATION.

During the viceroyalty of Masrook, the Arabs grew very restless under the Christian yoke.' They saw that the dominion of their conquerors was likely to be permanent, and descended in regular order from father to son; and they sighed to be released from the foreigners, whose treatment of their subjects justly caused them to be regarded as tyrants and usurpers.*

A.D. 573.

At length they found a liberator. The last of the old Himyarite race were Saif (whose wife Rihána had been seized by Abrahá), and Mäadi-Káreb, his son. At the instigation of the Himyarite nobles, who furnished them with the necessary means, these two princes contrived to effect their escape from Yemen, and repaired to Constantinople, to implore the aid of the emperor (Justin II. or Heraclius). Saif waited a considerable time at the Byzantine court, in patient expectation, and detailed to the Kaiser the miseries of his countrymen, and implored him to send an army to expel the Abyssinians.†

To this request the emperor replied,—"You profess the Jewish faith; the Abyssinians profess the Christian religion, as I do: consequently I cannot undertake anything to their injury to do you a service."‡ At length, finding that he had nothing to expect from the Romans, Saif quitted Constantinople, and proceeded to Heera, where he was kindly received by Näamán, the son of Moondheer, who offered to accompany him to the Persian monarch. Accordingly, about A.D. 574, they proceeded to the court of Kesra Anowshirwán.

Kesra was in the habit of holding his court in a large *iwán* or saloon, where his crown was deposited. On his first interview, Saif declared the object of his coming, represented the tyranny under which his countrymen groaned, and the advantages which would accrue to the Persians by the recovery of Yemen from the Abyssinians. Kesra, deterred by the unproductiveness of the country, and the great distance from his own dominions, declined to entertain the proposal, but dismissed Saif, after having invested him with a robe of honour, and presented him with 6,000 dirhems of silver.§

A.D. 574.

* Caussin de Percival, apud Bom. Mag. vol. iii. p. 180; Wright, p. 145.

† Wright, p. 146; Caussin de Percival, apud Bom. Mag. vol. iii. p. 180.

‡ Caussin de Percival, apud Bom. Mag. vol. iii. p. 181.

§ Idem; Wright, p. 147.

No sooner had Saif left the royal presence, than he distributed the whole of the abovementioned sum amongst the retainers of the palace. This act of generosity coming to the ears of Kesra, he sent for him, and inquired the reason. Saif replied,—"What could I do with them, seeing that gold and silver are so common in my country?—every mountain contains inexhaustible mines of those metals. I come, not to seek pecuniary aid, but to enlist your justice on behalf of my countrymen." This declaration excited the cupidity of the Persian monarch, who dismissed Saif with promises of assistance.* In consequence, however, of other wars, especially with the Romans, Kesra did not immediately fulfil his promise, and in the meanwhile Saif died.

Mäadi-Kárib, animated with the same zeal which had inspired his father, once more sought the royal presence, and, after much solicitation, obtained an audience of the king. He addressed the monarch in these words:—"I am the son of Saif, and I have come to claim my inheritance, the fulfilment of the promise you made to my father."

At length Kesra, with the advice of his council, armed all the malefactors in the prisons, amounting to 3,600 men: these he organised into an army, and placed them under command of Horzád ibn Narsee, surnamed Wahráz, a native of Dailán, who was one of their number, but superior to them by birth and education. "If they conquer these regions," said Kesra, "it will add to my dominions; if they perish, they will but suffer the just punishment of their crimes." This party, together with Mäadi-Kárib, embarked on board of eight vessels, and set sail for Yemen. Two of the vessels foundered, but the remainder reached Aden in safety according to some historians, while others, and amongst them Masäoodi, say Mayoon on the coast of Hadramaut.†

The sight of these troops, and the presence of a descendant of their ancient kings, excited the courage of their native Arabs, and of those who had suffered from the persecution of Masrook: they accordingly flocked to the standard of Mäadi-Kárib, who soon found himself at the head of the army of 20,000 men. These he led to Wahráz, and thus addressed him,—"My foot shall be always by the side of yours; let us conquer or die together." Wahráz then set fire to his ships, in order to show the Persian soldiers that they had no other resource than their own valour, and forthwith marched upon Sanäa.‡

Intelligence of this powerful army soon reached the ears of Masrook, who, having assembled a force of 120,000 men, prepared to oppose the advance of the invaders. Wahráz sent his son Yoodád forward to reconnoitre the Abyssinians: in a skirmish with them the youth fell; and a desire to avenge his death only proved a fresh stimulus to Wahráz.

* Caussin de Percival, apud Bom. Mag. vol. iii. p. 182. † Idem.

‡ Idem, p. 183.

When the two armies met face to face, and the conflict began, Wahráz desired the soldiers to point out to him the Abyssinian viceroy. The latter was seated on an elephant with a crown upon his head, and a large ruby glittering upon his forehead. Whilst the Persians were looking at him, he descended from his elephant, and mounted a camel; this he soon changed for a horse, and finally he mounted on a mule. On seeing this, the Persian exclaimed,—"It is the omen of the disgrace of his royalty: I shall now let fly an arrow at him; if you observe that all around him remain quiet, you may conclude that I have missed him, but if they are thrown into confusion, you will know that I have hit him, and in that case, take advantage of the tumult, and charge the enemy with vigour."*

The arrow of Wahráz reached its destination; it touched the ruby, entered between the two eyes of Masrook, and pierced his skull: the Abyssinian army was thrown into the utmost confusion, made a feeble resistance, and finally was routed with great slaughter.†

After this victory, Wahráz approached Sanäa, in order to make his triumphal entry into the city; but the gateway being too small, he ordered that it should be broken down, "for," said he, "my standard shall never be lowered." This was done, and the Persian general entered the city with uplifted banners.

The Abyssinians who had escaped the sword fled to their own country or submitted to the conquerors, and Mäadi-Káribwas, agreeably to the orders of Kesra, installed as viceroy of Yemen. A crown was placed upon his head, and he was armed with a suit of silver mail. He agreed to pay tribute as a vassal of the Persian monarch, and Wahráz, leaving behind a portion of his force, returned to his own country.‡

When he had entered on the possession of his ancestral kingdom, Mäadi-Káreb caused the walls of the ancient Himyarite palace of Ghoomdán to resound with festivity. The Arabs have sung his praise in their songs, amongst others in that which Ommia the son of Aboo-es-Satt composed, describing the wanderings of Saif, his unsuccessful journey to Constantinople, and finally the restoration of the Himyarite dynasty in Yemen.§ Another song by a Persian poet, commemorating the exploits of Wahráz, is thus recorded by Masäoodi:—

I.

"We embarked on the sea and steered for the coasts of Yemen,
To free the Himyarites from the curse of Soudán.

* Caussin de Percival, apud Bom. Mag. vol. iii. p. 183; Wright, p. 148.

† Caussin de Percival, apud Bom. Mag. vol. iii. p. 183; Wright, p. 149; Nowairi, apud MS. No. 6930.

‡ Caussin de Percival, apud Bom. Mag. vol. iii. p. 183; Nowairi, apud MS. No. 6930.

§ Excerpta ex Aboo'l-Féda, apud Pocock, p. 505.

II.

Warriors, like lions fierce, of the race of Sassán,
Encircling the sacred shrine with our poised javelins;

III.

And our white shields irradiate like the splendour of lightning,
Midst the flashes of moving armed men.

IV.

Then killed we Masrook, when, elate, he was glorying,
And giving orders to the tribes of the Habeshi.

V.

And we cleft the ruby pendulant between his eyes,
By the arrow of a Sassánian hero.

VI.

Wahráz the Dailáni, who, when he had observed him fall,
Renewed in courage, and invincible in strength,

VII.

Possessed himself in battle of the towns of Kahtán.
Then penetrated we to the hills of Ghoomdán;

VIII.

And there, imbued in endless delights,
We enjoyed nuptial blessings with the daughters of Kahtán."

Several authors, and amongst others Aboo'l-Féda, assert that Saif the son of Dthoo Yezán did not die at the Persian court, but that he was actually placed by Wahráz on the throne of his ancestors; while Masäoodi and Ahmed Dimishki attribute what has been above related to Mäadi-Káreb; but all agree that the Persian king who afforded the succour to the Himyarite prince was Kesra Anowshirwán, who reigned from A.D. 531 to A.D. 579. Hajee Kahleefeh also says that these events occurred about four years before the death of Kesra, or about A.D. 575.*

The news of the overthrow of the Christian power in Yemen, and the restoration of the house of Himyar, speedily spread throughout Arabia, and princes and ambassadors flocked from all parts to offer their congratulations to Mäadi-Káreb, who received them at Sanäa in the palace of Ghoomdán. Amongst the deputies from Mecca was Abd-el-Motalib, grandfather of Mahommed, and prince of the Koraish, who expressed the greatest joy on the

* Caussin de Percival, apud Bom. Mag. vol. iii. p. 184.

occasion, and addressed the new viceroy as "the head of all the Arabians; their spring-season, from which originated all their prosperity; their leader; the pillar on which they all depended; and the banner lifted aloft for the refuge of God's worshippers."*

Mäadi-Káreb entertained the deputies with great honour, and presented to each one hundred camels, twenty slaves, two rolls of gold and silver, and a bag of amber; but to Abd-el-Motalib the gift was increased ten-fold.

A number of Abyssinians still remained in Yemen: these Mäadi-Káreb began by persecuting, enslaving those whom he did not massacre: at length he changed his policy, and, from an excess of distrust, he became imprudently confiding, and surrounded his person with Abyssinian guards, armed with javelins, who accompanied him whenever he left the palace. One day, as he was out hunting, accompanied by these guards, they fell upon him and slew him, and fled to the mountains.

An Abyssinian, whose name does not transpire, then seized the supreme power, and for some time Yemen was filled with violence and bloodshed. The native Himyarites, familiar to servitude, appeared to take little part in the quarrel between their Persian and Abyssinian rulers, so that the latter retained possession of the country for several years.†

A.D. 595. At length, however, Kesra Párweez, who had succeeded Anowshirwán, sent an army of 4,000 men under the same Wahráz who had headed the first expedition, to regain possession of Yemen. That general, though of great age, had lost none of his youthful vigour; and whether it was, as some authors assert, that the Arabians had been defeated by his lieutenant before his arrival, or whether he personally fought against them, it is certain that they were routed with great slaughter.

According to the orders of Kesra, Wahráz inflicted a cruel retribution upon the Abyssinians, putting to death all whom he could find with crisp hair and black skins, and even the half-castes, or children of Abyssinian fathers by Arab mothers, to the number of about three thousand.‡

The Persian monarch was so much pleased with the conduct of Wahráz, that he appointed him viceroy or satrap of the country which he had conquered. Then it was that the dynasty of Himyar finally became extinguished, and Yemen, as well as its dependencies, Hadramaut, Mahra, and Omán, became provinces of the Persian empire.§

Not only did the Abyssinians lose Yemen, but their power as a maritime

* Caussin de Percival, apud Bom. Mag. vol. iii. p. 184; Wright, p. 150; MS. No. 6930.

† Caussin de Percival, apud Bom. Mag. vol. iii. p. 185; MS. No. 6930.

‡ Caussin de Percival, apud Bom. Mag. vol. iii. p. 185; Crichton, p. 95; MS. No. 6930.

§ Caussin de Percival, apud Bom. Mag. vol. iii. p. 186.

state became greatly circumscribed. The Persians acquired command of the Red Sea; and Aden, with the neighbouring ports, as well as the whole of the harbours and islands on the African Coast, were completely in their possession.

The soldiers of Wahráz took to themselves Arab wives, and, says Ibn Ishák, from them sprung that race called Ebnäa,* which exists in Yemen to this day.†

Wahráz died at Sanäa, and after him the country was governed by successive Persian viceroys, regarding the names and numbers of whom historians do not agree, until Budhán, who began to reign as a vassal to Kesra Párweez, shortly before the commencement of Islamism (about A.D. 606), and who was subsequently confirmed in the government of Yemen by the great Mahomedan lawgiver.

A.D. 606.

The Persian rule was mild, and hardly felt by the Arabs; moreover the Kails, Dthoos, and petty chiefs of districts, were permitted to exercise separate power, each in his own country.

The three religions, Pagan, Jewish, and Christian, were equally tolerated, and the spirit of proselytism does not appear to have caused any fresh disturbances. Christianity maintained its ground, chiefly at Nejrán, amongst the Benoo'l-Harith ibn Käab. A distinguished bishop of that town, named Coss, the son of Säeeda, is mentioned as a poet and orator; he died about the time that Budhán succeeded to the viceroyalty of Yemen.

Under this satrap, a noble Christian family, named Oulád Abd-el-Madán ibn Deyyán, governed Nejrán. They were distinguished for liberality as well as wealth, and erected a church at Nejrán upon the model of the Käaba of Mecca. Other writers say that it was an immense tent, formed of three hundred hides sewn together, in which every one in danger found refuge, and where the unfortunate were welcomed and succoured.

A.D. 622.

* Probably the race now called Khádim, *plural* Akhdám, is here indicated. The name Ebnäa is not now known in Yemen.

† Caussin de Percival, apud Bom. Mag. vol. iii. p. 186.

CHAPTER XIII.

YEMEN, FROM THE ERA OF THE HEJIRA TO THE FIRST DYNASTY OF SULTANS, OR IMA'MS.

The era of the Hejira, or flight of Mahommed from Mecca to Medina, commences on the 16th July 622. Shortly after that period, the conquests of Mahommed had extended over. the northern parts of Arabia, but Yemen was still subject to Budhán, the Persian viceroy.

A.D. 622.

From Medina, Mahommed directed letters to the sovereigns of the various countries round about, and amongst others to Kesra Párweez, king of Persia, inviting them to embrace the new religion. Kesra treated his proposals with contempt, and despatched an order to the viceroy of Yemen, to send him the head of the impostor. But the prophet was safe from such a fate—his power was too well consolidated in Arabia to permit him to fear the anger of any foreign potentate; and Budhán was by no means inclined to attempt the execution of his sovereign's mandate.

The latter part of the reign of Kesra Párweez was stained with crimes which rendered him hateful to his subjects, who accordingly revolted against him, and, having confined him in a subterraneous dungeon, raised his son to the throne.

Mahommed, who had early become acquainted with this circumstance through his emissaries at the Persian court, pretended that the intelligence had been conveyed to him by divine revelation, at the very time that the events had transpired, and immediately sent an account of it to the viceroy of Yemen.

The latter, convinced by this pretended miracle, tendered his allegiance to the ruler of Mecca, and, with the greater part of his subjects, embraced the religion of El-Islám.* He was then confirmed in his office by Mahommed, and retained it till his death.

Dissensions amongst the Christians greatly favoured the spread of Mahomedanism, and shortly after Budhán joined him, the power of the prophet was further increased by the conversion of the Mondhár of Heera, and Howáda ibn Ali, the Christian king of Yemáma.

The Christians of Arabia were only too glad to secure the friendship of Mahommed, and their bishops and priests went to negotiate an alliance and a

* Wright, p. 177.

tribute. Seid, the prince of Nejrán, with the bishop Jesujabus, secured favourable terms for their tribe, and the treaty signed by the prophet stipulated that they should be defended from their enemies; that they should never be compelled to fight or to change their religion; that the priests should be free from tribute, and the laity not too heavily taxed; that they should be permitted to repair their churches; and that Christian slaves should be allowed to serve amongst Arabians, without being compelled to change their faith.*

A.D. 631.

In the tenth year of the Hejira (A.D. 631), some disturbances having broken out in Yemen, Mahommed sent Ali ibn Aboo Thálib thither, at the head of 300 horsemen, to bring the inhabitants to reason. He first attempted argument; but that failing, he had recourse, and with much better effect, to the sword; for after about twenty unbelievers had been slain, the rest quietly submitted. It is said that Ali converted the whole tribe of Hamdán in a single day, and their example, according to Aboo'l-Féda, was soon followed by all the inhabitants of that province, excepting those of Nejrán, who preferred to pay tribute.

Ali returned to Mecca in time to be present at the prophet's farewell pilgrimage to the Käaba, and having acquitted himself of all his commissions entirely to his master's satisfaction, he was received by him with marks of great affection.†

A.D. 632.

In the following year, two rival prophets sprang up in Yemen, named Mosailma and El-Aswad, commonly called 'the liars' in Mahomedan history. The first of these was of the tribe of Haneefa, inhabiting the province of Yemáma, and a man of consideration amongst them. He had headed the deputation to Mahommed in the ninth year of the Hejira, on which occasion he had become a convert to Islamism; but on his return to his country, he set up as an independent prophet. In the urgency of other affairs, the usurpation of Mosailma continued for a time unchecked.

El-Aswad ibn Käab was the other pretender. He was the chief of the tribes of Ans, and a man gifted with considerable eloquence, and a quick and ready wit. He had been an idolater, but became a convert to Mahomedanism, from which he seceded to set up a religion of his own.

He had acquired great power over the tribes of Yemen, and Aboo'l-Féda relates that he was styled Dthoo-el-Hamár, or 'lord of the ass,' because he used frequently to say, "The Lord of the Ass is coming to me." He gave out that he received his inspiration from the angels named Sohaik and Shorhaik, the first of whom had sold him an ass, which played all manner of

* Asseman, apud Wright, p. 181.

† Mod. Univ. Hist. vol. i. p. 205.

tricks; the latter frequently exhibited to him phantoms, so grand as to dazzle his eyes.* The truth is, that he was well versed in juggling tricks and natural magic, and astonished the multitude by spectral illusions; and for a time his schemes were successful.

On the death of Budhán, which occurred in this year, Mahommed divided Yemen between Shehr, son of Budhán, and six of his own companions, to each of whom he assigned a province.†

Aswad, being now at the head of a very powerful sect, slew Shehr, espoused his widow, and seized upon the government. The people of Nejrán invited him to their city, the gates of Sanäa were thrown open to him, and in a short time nearly all Yemen submitted to his sway.

The news of this usurpation found Mahommed in the first stages of the malady from which he subsequently died, and fearing that it would prove injurious to the religion which he had established, he sent secret orders to some of the leading Himyarites and inhabitants of Hamdán to get rid of him, either by surprise or by open force.‡

This was effected by a party of Mahommed's friends. They conspired with one Käes ibn Abd-el-Yaghooth, who entertained feelings of enmity to the usurper, and Firooz, El-Aswad's wife; these broke one evening into the house and decapitated him. While they were despatching him, he uttered the most piercing shrieks, which brought the guards to the chamber door, but his wife dismissed them with the assurance that her husband was merely under the influence of prophetic inspiration.§

In the morning, the standard of Mahommed waved over Sanäa, and a herald proclaimed the death of El-Aswad, the liar and impostor.

This occurred a day or two before the prophet's death. Letters were immediately sent to him, containing full particulars; but it is asserted that a heavenly messenger carried the news, which he imparted to his followers just before his death. The letters did not reach till Aboo Bekr had been elected Kálif. The whole period of El-Aswad's usurpation did not exceed four months.‖

Mosailma, as has been observed, was of the tribe of Haneefa, and set up as a rival prophet to Mahommed, about the same time as El-Aswad. Considering that he ran the less risk of failure if he acted in conjunction with Mahommed, he wrote to him, and proposed that they should divide the world between them. His letter was as follows :—" From Mosailma, the Prophet of God, to Mahommed, the Prophet of God ! Now let the earth be half mine, and half

* Mod. Univ. Hist. vol. ii. p. 221. † Idem, vol. i. p. 206. ‡ Idem, p. 222.
§ Idem, p. 225. ‖ Idem.

thine!"—to which Mahommed replied in these terms:—"From Mahommed, the Prophet of God, to Mosailma, the Liar! The earth is God's; he giveth the same for inheritance to such of his servants as pleaseth him, and the happy issue shall attend such as fear him!"*

During the few months of Mahommed's life after this revolt, Mosailma gained ground, and grew more formidable: he increased the number of his followers, and held regal sway over Yemáma; but after the death of the prophet, which occurred in the eleventh year of the Hejira (corresponding with A.D. 632), and the sixty-third of his age, Aboo Bekr, who had been elected kálif, or successor to Mahomed, in the spiritual as well as temporal empire which he had created, resolved to subdue him.

He first sent Ikrama and Serjabeel, two of his most experienced commanders, with a body of troops to Yemáma, and afterwards despatched Khálid ibn Wálid, with a powerful force, to support them. After the junction of these armies, the Mahomedan troops numbered 40,000 effective men.

A.D. 633.

Mosailma sallied out to meet Khálid with a still greater force,† and a battle was fought at Akreba, near the capital of Yemáma. Khálid was at first repulsed, with a loss of twelve hundred men, but, rallying his troops, he renewed the contest with such vigour that the rebels were entirely defeated, and twelve thousand of their number remained dead upon the field. The impostor himself fell, covered with wounds, slain by a negro slave named Wahsha, with the same weapon that had despatched Hamza, the uncle of Mahommed. The victory was so complete, that the survivors never again attempted to revolt from their allegiance, and readily returned to the religion of El-Islám.‡

Soon after this, Ikrama ibn Aboo Sáhil was sent to quell a rebellion in Omán and Mahara. On his return, he visited Aden, where his presence served to put to flight several turbulent persons, who had been endeavouring to instigate the Himyarites to revolt.§

There is a tradition that about this time a heavy fall of rain inundated the city of Sanäa, which, on subsiding, disclosed a strongly secured door in the ground. This was opened, and in the cavity beneath was found a body richly apparelled, and decorated with jewels; in each hand was a tablet, and at the head a sword, whereon was inscribed,—"This is the sword of Hood ibn Hood," and on the tablets were engraved the following verses.

* Mod. Univ. Hist. vol. i. p. 280.

† Some historians affirm that the army of Mosailma was numerically inferior to that of Khálid.

‡ Mod. Univ. Hist. vol. i. p. 281.

§ Caussin de Percival.

" If governors and judges oppress the earth!
The Great Judge who is in heaven will punish them:
Ye should act according to the law of Mahommed." *

After the disturbances in Yemen had been quelled, Aboo-Bekr divided the country between three governors: Said ibn Lebeed-el-Baghádi was sent to Hadramaut; Ibbán ibn Sáid ibn El-As was appointed to Sanäa; and Jennad was allotted to Mäad ibn Jebel-el-Ansári, the most valued and intimate friend of the prophet. The second appears soon to have died or been removed, as we find another, named Jálea ibn Ali Omaiya, sent in his stead. These governors were subsequently confirmed in their posts by the Kálifs Omar and Othmán in A.D. 634 and A.D. 643.

It is not intended here to enter into an account of the lives and exploits of the kálifs. It will be sufficient to mention that on the death of the prophet there was great danger of a disputed succession; but to avoid this, Omar renounced his own pretensions, and acknowledged Aboo Bekr as his lawful sovereign. The Hashemites, under Ali, though averse to the new monarch, acknowledged him eventually as 'prince of the faithful.' After a reign of two years, he was succeeded by Omar, who was assassinated in the twelfth year of his reign. He was succeeded by Othmán; and it was not till his death that Ali succeeded to the throne. This contest for the dignity of kálif has ever since divided Mahomedans into two hostile sects, the Sheiis and Sunnis, the former of which reprobate Aboo Bekr, Omar, and Othmán as usurpers, and recognise Ali as the legitimate successor of the prophet.

A.D. 655. Ali succeeded to the kálifate in A.D. 655, at which time Arabia was filled with distraction at home, while the most splendid achievements had been effected abroad.

Notwithstanding the claims and personal merits of Ali, his affinity to the prophet, having married Fatima, his only surviving child, and his well-tried valour, his accession was only the signal for political convulsions, which threatened to rend in twain the religion of El-Islám.†

He dismissed all his governors, and, by so extraordinary a measure, raised deadly feuds in the state, which caused him the greatest uneasiness during his whole reign. The new officers he sent out to the respective provinces were Othmán ibn Haneef, who was ordered to Bussora, Amhára ibn Sáhel to Kuffa, Abdulla ibn Abbas-el-Ansári to Yemen, Sáhel ibn Haneef to Syria, and Säad ibn Kais to Egypt. Of all these, Abdulla ibn Abbas, viceroy of Yemen, was the only one who succeeded in establishing himself in his government; but this was no very great advantage to him, for Jálea, who was governor there by virtue of a commission from Othmán, plundered the treasury before leaving the country.

* El-Khuzraji. † Crichton, p. 303.

Previous to this, Telha and Zobair had quitted the kálif's court, on his refusal to employ them at the time he appointed new governors, and, having proceeded to Mecca, in concert with Ayesha, the prophet's widow, and assisted by Jálea, and the plundered treasures of Yemen, they formed a formidable party, which the kálif for a long time vainly endeavoured to quell. Amongst others, they stirred up the Motazelites or Separatists, by which appellation such as had disputed Ali's succession were distinguished.*

Ali did eventually reduce the insurrection of Ayesha's partisans; but a more formidable adversary appeared in the person of Moáwiyah ibn Abi Sofián, the governor of Syria. This officer possessed the affection of his army, and many of the governors and lieutenants throughout the country refused to recognise the authority of Ali. Moáwiyah accordingly openly threw off his allegiance, and had himself proclaimed kálif of the western provinces.

Both parties appealed to arms, to settle their disputed title to the kálifate; and on the plains of Seffein, on the western bank of the Euphrates, a desultory war was waged between the two armies, which lasted for one hundred and two days. Ali performed prodigies of valour, but, in consequence of dissensions in his army, he was compelled to suspend hostilities, and Moáwiyah was saluted kálif. Ali returned to Kuffa, a city of Chaldea, on the banks of the Euphrates; but his partisans settled into factions, and from that period his interests began to decline.

Moáwiyah took revenge for the losses he had sustained at Seffein: his troops plundered Mesopotamia, and for a time maintained possession of Bussora, while other detachments penetrated into Arabia, where they committed terrible devastations.† Báshir ibn Arteb led a division into the Hejáz, and reduced Mecca, Medina, and Taif; he then marched against Yemáma and Yemen. Abdulla ibn Abbas, the lieutenant of Ali in the latter province, marched out against him, with all the forces he could raise, in the hope of beating the invaders on the frontier, and preventing them from entering the province; but success did not attend his arms—his force was utterly routed, and he was compelled to save himself by flight, and joined his master at Kuffa.‡ Abdulla endeavoured to carry off his two sons, who were mere boys, but they fell into the hands of Ibn Arteb, who caused them to be put to death. He also massacred a great number of the adherents of Ali in Yemen, particularly in Sanäa, and returned to Mecca, where he followed up his cruelty by putting many more to the sword.

A.D. 660.

Ali, being apprised of what had taken place, sent a force against Ibn Arteb, but it failed to overtake him: we are told that he was so enraged at the

* Marigny, vol. ii. p. 11. † Crichton, p. 306. ‡ Marigny, vol. ii. p. 86.

murder of the two sons of Abdulla, that he cursed Ibn Arteb, and prayed to God that he might be deprived of reason,—which prayer was heard, that commander actually becoming insane towards the close of his life, and dying in that miserable condition.*

After the death of Ali, and the abdication of Hassan, Yemen became subject to the kálifs of the house of Omiyah, and remained so until A.D. 749, when that dynasty was extinguished by the Abbasites, under circumstances of sanguinary ferocity and deliberate cruelty, rarely equalled even in the annals of Eastern history.

A.D. 749.

The Abbasite general who conquered Yemen was Mahommed Aboosee Mahommed; he appointed Mahommed ibn Zaid governor of Sanäa, and Dáood ibn Abd-el-Mejeed governor of Aden. An intended act of great brutality is recorded of the Abbasite general: finding that the people of Yemen were suffering from obstinate mortifying ulcers, he ordained that all so affected should be burned; but fortunately his own sudden death prevented this order being carried into execution.

In A.D. 812, Yemen declared for El-Maimoon, son of Haroon-er-Rasheed, who had been excluded by his brother El-Amin from the succession; and it remained under the house of El-Abbas until A.D. 905, when it passed under the sway of the Karamites.

A.D. 812.

A.D. 905.

* Mod. Univ. Hist. vol. i. p. 34.

CHAPTER XIV.

YEMEN, UNDER THE FIRST DYNASTY OF SULTANS OR IMA'MS.

The Saracenic empire had by this time attained to such gigantic and unwieldy proportions, of which Arabia constituted the most insignificant part, that it became obviously impossible to maintain it in its integrity.

A.D. 932.

The lieutenants of the kálifs in the various provinces of Arabia had long exercised hereditary and almost regal sway, and at last they ceased altogether to be content with their vicarious titles, and aspired to the absolute sovereignty of the dominions which they governed. Yemen appears to have been amongst the first to throw off its allegiance, and, in A.D. 932, a descendant of Ali was placed on the throne; and as that Imám had been styled *Saif Ullah*, 'the sword of God,' so the new prince assumed the title of *Saif-el-Khulifah*, or 'sword of the kálifs,' and adopted as his badge a red flag bearing a representation of the double-bladed sword of Ali, which has to the present day been retained by all the succeeding princes who have reigned in Sanäa.

This prince is probably the same mentioned by Masäoodi as having been king in his day. His name was Asäad ibn Yáfoor; he separated himself from all society save only his own court, which he held at Kahlán, and he maintained an army of 50,000 men, cavalry and infantry.*

We have little or no authentic information regarding the state of Yemen during the next century, save that it was continually overrun by predatory tribes, and distracted by civil war. The kálifs had lost the dominion of the country, or, if it did at all exist, it was only at a few points on the sea coast, while many of the most powerful chieftains did not even recognise their spiritual supremacy.

It appears, from the chronicles of the Imám Ali bin Hoosain El-Khuzraji,† that in A.D. 1038, during the kálifate of Moktafi II., the thirty-first of the house of Abbas, Aden was conquered by one Zehereyáh, who appointed Soláhie governor. Ibn Omár, chief of Láhej, Shehr, and Hadramaut, entered into a treaty of alliance with him, and gave his daughter Zaida in marriage to Soláhie's son.

A.D. 1038.

* El-Masäoodi, p. 443.

† The authority for the remainder of this chapter, except where otherwise stated, is El-Khuzraji.

While in a state of profound peace, Ibn Omár suddenly attacked Aden, and, having captured it, put Soláhie to death. The son effected his escape into the interior, leaving his wife in Aden; whereupon Ibn Omár, having espoused the widow of Soláhie, assumed the government. This he divided with a relative named Masäood, retaining for himself the Bab-el-Yemen, at which land duties were collected, and apportioning the sea gate to his colleague, on the condition that he should pay an annual stipend to Zaida, amounting to 100,000 dinars, or about 250,000 dollars, for her maintenance.

A.D. 1067. Ibn Omár lived till A.D. 1067, when he died, and was succeeded by his son Dthoo'l-Käa.

A.D. 1087. In A.D. 1087 Dthoo'l-Käa collected a large force in Aden, and captured Dabooli, which was under his sister Zaida, in return for which act of hostility her husband, son of the murdered Soláhie, attacked Aden, and after a sanguinary encounter, in which the leaders on both sides fell, the army of Zaida retreated to the mountains. The government of Aden was then assumed by the sons of the fallen chiefs, Masäood ibn Dthoo'l-Käa and Abd-el-Kádir ibn Masäood. They refused to continue to Zaida the stipend which had been agreed upon during the lifetime of her father, whereupon she once more took up arms: the matter was, however, settled for the time, by the chiefs agreeing to pay one-half of the stipulated sum, but ere very long even this payment was evaded, and Aden became independent of Zaida.

On the death of Masäood and Abd-el-Kádir, which occurred nearly at the same time, their respective sons Sába and Mahommed conjointly held the government, until the death of the latter, when his brother Ali succeeded him.

Ali, being of a restless and ambitious temperament, collected a force, with which he proceeded inland, and captured the towns of Láhej, Ed-Dimlooha, Sahäa, all the villages of El-Mahkuffa, and Jenád. These continued successes caused him to be both feared and respected. Flushed with victory, the followers of Ali treated those of Sába with ill-concealed contempt; the remonstrances of the latter being of no avail, he formed a conspiracy against Ali, who, however, discovered it in time to effect his escape. Ali collected what force he could, and a battle ensued between the two colleagues, near Láhej, in which the forces of Ali were completely routed. The cruelty of Sába, in cutting off the ears and nose of Masäood, one of Ali's generals, and sending him in that state to his master, only increased the exasperation of the rivals; and the war continued unabated for the period of two years.

Though brave, Ali was imprudent, and the revenues of those provinces still left to him, instead of being carefully husbanded, were wasted with reckless

prodigality. Sába, on the other hand, managed his government, within the stronghold of Aden, with prudence and sagacity, and was especially careful to pay his troops with regularity. In consequence of this, many of Ali's followers deserted him, and flocked to his rival, who, feeling himself sufficiently strong, marched a second time inland, and overthrew the forces of Ali in a battle near Láhej.

A.D. 1137. In the mean time, treachery was at work in Aden; and while Sába was pursuing the vanquished Ali, a traitor named Belál ibn Yerrie ibn Mahommed succeeded in overpowering the small garrison left in that fortress, and, having obtained immense booty, he united with Ali's mother, and, during her life, Sába could not regain Aden. On her demise, Sába took advantage of the dissensions which arose in the garrison, and retook the place. This event occurred about A.D. 1137.

Sába died within a few months after this success, and was succeeded by his son Ali, surnamed Bin Awaj, who died after a brief reign of two years, leaving four sons, of whom Hátem, the eldest, succeeded him, and Belál ibn Yerrie was appointed wuzeer.

A.D. 1139. Belál was personally attached to Mahommed, one of the sons of the late Sába, who resided in the neighbourhood of Aden; he accordingly wrote to him, offering him an appointment in the service of his nephew Hátem. Mahommed removed to Aden, where he was received with every mark of distinction, and entrusted with the command of the army.

A.D. 1147. His amiable disposition soon made him a general favourite, and in the year A.D. 1147, the inhabitants, taking advantage of the temporary absence of Hátem, listened to the intrigues of Belál, and appointed Mahommed governor of the city.

A.D. 1152. At this time the provinces of Säadeh, Nejrán, Yáffa, and Dtháhir were governed by an Imám, named Ahmed ibn Suleiman, who had assumed the title of Metawakkil ala Ullah, 'the confider in God,' and Hátem ibn Ahmed reigned in the other provinces of Yemen, with the title of Sultan-el-Mansoor, or 'the victorious sultan.' The latter appears to have been a powerful prince in the southern parts of Yemen, for he made war upon the Imám above mentioned.

In A.D. 1152, the Sultan-el-Mansoor Hátem determined to obtain possession of Aden, but deemed it more prudent to obtain his ends by bribery than to risk failure by a resort to arms. An offer of 100,000 dinars tempted the cupidity of Belál, while a complimentary letter flattered his vanity; and on the arrival of the sultan's army on the plain close to Aden, the inhabitants

submissively opened their gates to receive him. The governor fled to Dimlooha, where he died twelve years afterwards, leaving three sons.

In A.D. 1173, the sultan of Sanäa resigned his authority into the hands of Tooran Shah, brother of Saleh-ed-Deen, sultan of Egypt, who about this time subdued Yemen; but though the government thus fell into the hands of the kálifs of the Eiubite dynasty, many of the Arab chiefs still retained their independence.

A.D. 1173.

Marco Polo relates that when Saleh-ed-Deen took Acre, he was assisted by the sultan of Aden, by which he probably means the governor of Sanäa under the Eiubites, with a contingent of 40,000 camels and 30,000 horses, which aid was given rather out of hatred to the Christians than out of good will to the Saracens.*

Ali, son of Sultan-el-Mansoor Hátem, was placed by Tooran Shah in the government of Sanäa, and he appointed his brother, Melek-el-Masäood, to the government of Aden, which he retained till A.D. 1233. Ibn Jubair mentions that while he was in Mecca in the month of Dthoo-el-Hijeh, A.H. 579 (A.D. 1183), the Ameer of Aden, Othmán bin Ali, fled from that place to the Hejáz, with much valuable property, which he had accumulated during his stay at that port, by plundering the merchants, and levying contributions on the rich Indian traffic which passes through his hands.† This would lead us to suppose, either that the government of Melek-el-Masäood at Aden was not continuous, or that, which is most probably the case, the Ameer Othmán bin Ali was not governor of the town, but merely Ameer-el-Bahr, or collector of the customs.

A.D. 1183.

Sultan Noor-ed-Deen succeeded El-Melek El-Masäood in A.D. 1233. After arranging the affairs of his government, he collected a large army, and overran all Yemen and the Hejáz, in which conquest he was at first confirmed by the kálif, but, in A.D. 1249, some dispute having arisen between him and his sovereign, Muzuffer Shems-ed-Deen was despatched to dispossess him of the government, which he effectually did, and eventually entered Aden.

A.D. 1233—1249.

Muzuffer remained in quiet possession of Yemen till A.D. 1256, which year is memorable from a volcano having burst forth near Medina; the following year he killed Ahmed bin Ali, and in A.D. 1260 he made himself master of Mecca, expelling the Shereef of that place. The successes of Muzuffer continued until nearly all the tribes were subject to him.

A.D. 1256—1269.

After the death of the sons of Haroon-er-Rasheed, the kálifate of Baghdad was rent by dissensions, many independent principalities were established, and

* Marco Polo, p. 328. † Ibn Jubair, p. 171.

the kálifs retained but the shadow of power. In A.D. 1258 the Tartars under Hooláku defeated Mostasem, the thirty-seventh and last kálif of the house of Abbas, and made themselves masters of Baghdad, while the Arabs threw off the yoke, and established their original form of government.

In A.D. 1279 the son of Muzuffer marched against a town of some importance, named Wafar,* on the confines of Hadramaut: a battle was fought, in which 300 of the enemy were slain, and 800 carried captives to Zebeed.

A.D. 1279.

In A.D. 1283 the governor of Sanäa, the Ameer Aälim-ed-Deen, died; on learning which Muzuffer proceeded thither, to quell any insurrection which might arise. Here he remained till the following year, when one Jemál-ed-Deen instigated a rebellion, and took the towns of Kohál and Ashráf. He died here shortly afterwards, and his place was taken by Däood; but the insurgents were speedily dispersed by the victorious Muzuffer, who, recapturing the town which he had lost, pushed his conquests as far as Dthafár. In A.D. 1291 he appointed his son Ibrahim governor of this city, whilst another son, Ashráf, held the city of Sanäa.

A.D. 1283—1291.

In A.D. 1294 the aged Muzuffer, sensible that he was now too infirm to conduct the government of his vast territories, assembled his chiefs at Ta'ez, and abdicated in favour of his son Ashráf; he then retired to Zebeed, where he expired in the month of Ramadhán, A.H. 694 (A.D. 1294), in the ninety-fourth year of his age, and the forty-sixth of his reign. He left five sons,—Ashráf, Däood, Ibrahim, Yákoob, and Hassan. He was a brave warrior, a wise and intelligent prince, and an encourager of learning, and died universally beloved and lamented.

A.D. 1294.

Ashráf ibn Muzuffer had not long ascended the throne of his father, when his brother Ibrahim showed a disposition to revolt. The offer of the government of Sanäa pacified him for a time; but not long afterwards he formed the design of taking Aden. To effect this, he entered into an arrangement with some fishing vessels to land a body of men under the several passes, whilst the main body of his army marched against the place by land. The ruse succeeded, and Aden fell without resistance. In the same year Ibrahim surprised and captured Láhej, Abien, and several villages in the vicinity.

In A.D. 1296 Ashraf ibn Muzuffer died at Ta'ez, and was succeeded by his brother Däood, under the title of Melek-el-Meyeth Hazb-ed-Deen. Ibrahim, who was residing in Aden, disputed the succession, and, collecting a force, marched to Máreb; here he found that his brother was too powerful for him—he accordingly tendered his

A.D. 1296.

* Sic in original; probably Dthafár is meant.

submission, and was sent to Ta'ez, when Aden again reverted to its legitimate sovereign.

A.D. 1300—1309.

Däood succeeded, in A.D. 1300, in reducing all the towns in the Tehâma of Yemen to subjection, and in maintaining peace and tranquillity within his dominions until A.D. 1309. In that year the inhabitants of Dthamár rebelled against their governor, Saif-ed-Deen, killed him, destroyed his property, and plundered the town. Däood in person marched against the rebels, and routed them; some of the principal instigators he put to death, but others sought and obtained protection from Mahommed ibn Mutáhir, a powerful mountain chieftain. Däood despatched the Shereef Amád-ed-Deen Aidroos to reduce this chief, but the latter was defeated and taken prisoner.

A.D. 1321-22.

Däood died in A.D. 1321, and was succeeded by his son Melek-el-Mejáhed Saif-el-Islám Abd-el-Hassán Ali bin Däood. The first act of this prince was to displace his father's wuzeer, and appoint Shoojá-ed-Deen bin Yoosuf in his stead. In the following year he left Zebeed, with the view of visiting every part of his dominions; but on his arrival at Dimlooha, his army demanded their arrears of pay, and an increased rate for the future, and, on his refusing, they laid their case before his uncle, Yákoob-el-Mansoor. After a consultation, it was arranged that in the event of a second application proving unsuccessful, Yákoob should be placed at their head, and the government should be overthrown.

The appeal was again made, but without effect; whereupon the troops seized the person of the king and sent him prisoner to Ta'ez, plundering his property, and that of the newly elected wuzeer. Yákoob was then placed on the throne, and immediately made such changes and concessions to the army as he imagined would conduce to his own stability; amongst others, he placed his nephew Násr, then a prisoner in Aden, in the government of Mahájeh, whilst his son Zohár was installed governor of Dimlooha.

In the meanwhile, the mother of Abd-el-Hassán Ali was instigating the tribes to release her son from his captivity at Ta'ez. Moved by her entreaties, a body of men attacked the city on a dark night, and, having released Abd-el-Hassán, placed him at their head. They instantly marched to Zebeed, which they took by storm, and secured the person of the rebel chief. Yákoob was compelled to write to his son and nephew, directing them to resign their respective governments; the latter complied, but Zohár refused to do so while his father remained a prisoner. Yákoob remained in captivity till his death, which occurred in A.D. 1323.

The penurious conduct of the sovereign soon occasioned another revolt in his army; numbers flocked to Zohár, who, finding himself thus unexpectedly

strengthened, marched against Aden, which he captured without resistance, and subsequently made himself master of Zebeed. Stung by these reverses, Abd-el-Hassán Ali collected an army of 500 horse and 10,000 foot, but it was defeated by Zohár in an engagement outside the walls of Zebeed, and Abd-el-Hassán Ali retreated with the remnants of his force to Ta'ez.

The inhabitants of Zebeed soon found that they had gained no advantage by the change of rulers, and deemed it their wisest plan to return voluntarily to their allegiance to Abd-el-Hassán Ali, who was thus restored to his former position. It is recorded that he received about this time 22,000 camel loads of presents from Egypt.

The only provincial governor who still adhered to the fortune of Zohár was the ruler of Aden. Sultan Abd-el-Hassán Ali therefore marched against that stronghold, and for seven successive days endeavoured in vain to take it by storm, after which he was obliged to retire. Zohár, on hearing of this heroic defence, hastened to Aden, and, having rewarded the governor, considerably strengthened the defences.

A.D. 1325. During the next four years, repeated endeavours were made by Abd-el-Hassán Ali to take Aden, and at length, what could not be effected by force was brought about by the treachery of the garrison: his troops were permitted to enter by night, and in the morning thousands poured down the hills and took possession of the city. The sultan bound the governor and his wuzeer hand and foot, and sent them in chains to Dimlooha; and he put to death many of the leaders in the rebellion.

A.D. 1330. In A.D. 1330 Abd-el-Hassán Ali conquered the stronghold of Hosn Mooneef, and during the three following years the whole of Yemen became subject to his sway.

A.D. 1331—1333. He performed the pilgrimage to Mecca in 1331, and returned in the following year. In A.D. 1333 one of his sons rebelled against him, but was speedily defeated, and died in prison.

A.D. 1350. In A.D. 1350 the sultan, accompanied by his mother, again performed the pilgrimage; and while at Mecca, he was taken prisoner and conveyed to Egypt. After a captivity of ten months he was liberated; and his first act, on his return, was to free all the captives in his dominions.

A.D. 1355. Some disturbances having arisen during A.D. 1355, the sultan deputed Ahmed ibn Lennie to reduce the malcontents: instead of doing so, that general captured the towns of Hurraz, Mahal, and Mäajera, with the surrounding country, declaring himself independent, and coining money with his own impress.

Abd-el-Hassán was unable to take any steps to subdue this rebellious chief, until A.D. 1362, when he led an army against him; but on reaching Aden, he died, and was succeeded by his son Ismáil, under the title of Melek-el-Afdthal.

A.D. 1362.

The first two years of this prince's reign were comparatively tranquil, and in A.D. 1365 he received presents from Egypt, Sind, and Cambay; but from that period until his death, which occurred at Zebeed in A.D. 1376, Yemen was abandoned to anarchy and confusion, Aden being almost the only town which did not change its government.

A.D. 1365.

Melek-el-Afdthal was succeeded by his son Melek-el-Ashráf, whose first act was to attempt the subjugation of his rebellious subjects, and the restoration of tranquillity within his dominions. Having delegated the government of Zebeed to one of his lieutenants, named Ali ibn Mahomed ibn Sálim, he proceeded to Ta'ez, and once more settled the surrounding districts; but, just as he thought his labour complete, several towns revolted;—one of these was Zebeed, which he speedily reduced, and put the originators of the revolt to death. He subsequently succeeded in recapturing all the others which had rebelled against his authority.

A.D. 1376.

In A.D. 1388 Melek-el-Ashráf deputed the governor of Zebeed, the Ameer Bedr-ed-Deen, to escort treasure from Aden to the former city. The Ameer received the money, but, instead of fulfilling his instructions, he proceeded to Ta'ez, and prepared for resistance. The news reaching the sultan, he sent a small force to occupy Hosn Reisán, a fort which commanded the approach to Ta'ez, and shortly afterwards marched in person to punish the rebellious officer. As soon as he approached the city, the Ameer came forth to meet him, and implored mercy; considerations of policy induced the sultan to forgive him, and the treasure was restored.

A.D. 1388.

Melek-el-Ashraf died in A.D. 1400, and was succeeded by his son Melek Násr Ahmed ibn Ismail, who appears to have assumed the title of Imám. On the accession of this young prince, several tribes, as usual, revolted; but the prompt and energetic measures adopted soon brought them to subjection. Against the Muzaba tribe he was particularly incensed, and, as a mark of ignominy, he appointed a female as their chief, and intimated that he would punish with the utmost severity any indignity offered to her.

A.D. 1400.

In A.D. 1417 the governor of Sanäa rebelled, and attempted to reduce the tribe of Beni Táhir; but he had scarcely entered their territory when he was defeated by the Imám.

A.D. 1417.

The latter then took up his residence at Sanäa, where he built a sumptuous palace, part of which still exists in the more modern edifice of the Bostán-el-Metawakkil.

A.D. 1419. Hassán Ismáil, brother of Melek Násr ibn Ahmed, taking advantage of the absence of the latter in A.D. 1419, declared himself Imám of Yemen. He was speedily, however, put down by his brother, who, to punish him for his rebellion, put out his eyes.

A.D. 1420. In the following year, the Imám built a village on the sea coast, which he called El-Fandár, and the sirdars of Sind presented him with four large vessels.

A.D. 1424. Melek Násr died at his castle of Keráwer in A.D. 1424, and his son Abdulla succeeded him, under the title of El-Melek Munsoor. His reign was short and inglorious: avarice was his ruling passion, and even his mother-in-law was deprived of her patrimony to satisfy his cupidity. He died suddenly in Zebeed, in A.D. 1426, and was succeeded by his brother Melek-el-Ashráf, Ismáil ibn Ahmed.

A.D. 1426. No sooner had Melek-el-Ashráf ascended the throne, than he caused the murder of several chieftains of note, amongst whom was Noor-ed-Deen ibn El-Hoosain ibn Sába. The uncle of the sovereign, Dtháhir ibn Yehia ibn Ismáil, assembled a force at Dimlooha, to avenge the death of his friend. With this he attacked his nephew's army, and, having utterly defeated it, took that prince prisoner, and confined him in a dungeon, whence he never came out alive. His death is said to have taken place about six months after his incarceration.

A.D. 1436. Dtháhir ibn Yehia, having thus disposed of his nephew, caused himself to be proclaimed Imám. His reign was short and troubled: several tribes revolted against his authority, and were with difficulty reduced. In A.D. 1436 a dreadful famine overspread the country from Aden to Sanäa, as well as the opposite coast of Africa. Thousands perished from want; and the mind of the sovereign was so greatly affected by his people's sufferings, that he died of a broken heart in the year A.D. 1438, after a reign of about eleven years. He left three sons, Ismáil, Hoosain, and Ahmed.

A.D. 1438. Ismáil succeeded his father. He found every province of his kingdom governed by turbulent and unruly chiefs: in order, therefore, to secure his authority, he invited all his most powerful nobles to a banquet, during which they were surprised and massacred. Other governors were appointed; but he did not long survive this act of treachery,—he died in 1441.

Ismáil was succeeded by Abd-el-Mansoor Yoosuf, who moved the seat of government from Sanäa to Ta'ez. His army rebelled, and threw him into prison, where he expired after a year's captivity. The kingdon then became divided, most of the principal chieftains asserting their independence; and the country continued in a state of anarchy till A.D. 1454, when the government was seized by a family of the Beni Táhir.

A.D. 1441—1454.

Two brothers, named Melek-el-Majáhid Shems-ed-Deen Ali and Melek Jaafer Saleh-ed-Deen Aumie, having collected a considerable body of followers, secretly entered Aden, and took possession of the city. The governor, Meyeth Hoosain ibn Dtháhir, surrendered himself, and all the public treasure and other property, to the victors, who respected his private fortune, and permitted him to reside in the city, under their protection.

An attempt was made, in the following year, by Mahommed ibn Saeed ibn Farras, governor of Shehr, to wrest Aden from the usurpers. The expedition proceeded by sea, but was entirely unsuccessful; many of the boats were wrecked, and the chiefs and their followers on board of them made prisoners. Shortly after this the brothers retaliated, and captured Shehr, and several other towns in its vicinity.

A.D. 1455.

In A.D. 1461 Melek Aumie marched against Sanäa, which, after a short siege, surrendered. Entrusting the charge of it to Melek-el-Mansoor Abd-el-Waháb ibn Däood, and releasing the former governor, Mahommed ibn Násr, he returned to Ta'ez, which city had formerly fallen into his hands.

A.D. 1461.

The ex-governor of Sanäa speedily formed the determination of recovering the city: he collected a band of trusty followers, and seizing the opportunity of the absence of the governor on a hunting expedition, he secured the garrison, shut the gates, and thus possessed himself of the city. Heavy imposts and taxes were now laid upon the inhabitants, who at last, wearied by the tyranny and oppression which they suffered, invited Melek Aumie to return, and promised entire submission to his authority for the future.

The latter was not backward to accept their invitation, and, at the head of a strong force, marched upon Sanäa: in the meanwhile Mahommed ibn Násr, having discovered the intended treachery, seized many of the most influential inhabitants, and put them to death. On the approach of Aumie's army, Mahommed sallied forth to give it battle, and on the plain in front of the city a bloody engagement ensued, in which Melek Aumie was slain, and his companions entirely routed.

Four volcanoes are said to have burst forth into activity at Zebeed in the year A.D. 1467, which consumed all the mat houses; in consequence of which Melek Ali directed that for the future the houses should all be constructed of stone.

A.D. 1467.

In A.D. 1472, Melek Ali, finding himself, from age and infirmities, unable to bear the fatigue of government, abdicated in favour of his nephew Abd-el-Wahâb ibn Táhir, who ascended the throne under the title of Melek-el-Mansoor Taj-ed-Deen.

A.D. 1472.

The country enjoyed tranquillity for several years after the accession of the new monarch, but in A.D. 1477 Mahommed ibn Barakât, Shereef of Meeca, surprised the town of Jaizán, which he plundered and burnt to the ground, and in the same year Melek Ali died at Jabán.

A.D. 1477.

The condition of Yemen greatly improved under the wise and beneficent rule of Abd-el-Wahâb, who lived to a good old age. Between his accession and the great famine which ravaged the country in A.D. 1502, he built one mosque and two colleges at Zebeed, several at Sanâa, two colleges at Ta'ez, and many cisterns and watercourses over the country, the principal of which is the aqueduct built to convey the water of the Beer-Hameed* into Aden, a distance of 16,000 yards, the ruins of which exist to the present day.

* Beer *Hameed* is usually written *Amhait* on the charts.

LIBRARY OF THE BOMBAY BRANCH OF THE ROYAL ASIATIC SOCIETY

CHAPTER XV.

EARLY DISCOVERIES AND CONQUESTS OF THE PORTUGUESE AND TURKS IN YEMEN.

About the year A.D. 1445, the Christian emperor of Abyssinia sent an ambassador to the senate of Florence, and wrote a famous letter to the priests, his subjects, in Jerusalem. These circumstances gave rise to the most exaggerated reports, and influenced the religious zeal of the Portuguese to discover the country, said to be extremely rich and civilized, ruled over by this sovereign, to whom they gave the fantastic name of Presbyter Johannes, or Prestor John.

A.D. 1445.

Accordingly, in A.D. 1487, John Pedreio de Covilham and Alphonso de Payva, and after them two Jews, Rabbi Abraham of Beja and Joseph of Lamego, were sent by direction of John II. of Portugal, to explore Abyssinia, the realm of this famous sovereign. Covilham was a soldier who had served in Africa, and had been an ambassador to Morocco, where he had acquired a perfect knowledge of the Arabic language. He went *viâ* Alexandria, descending the Red Sea, and touching at Tor, Suákin, and Aden, which last he describes as a rich trading town, where he had an opportunity of conversing with merchants of all nations, and from all parts of India. At Aden he embarked for Cannanore, on the Malabar Coast, after which he returned to Africa, touched at Zaila, and went down the east coast as far as Sofláa; then, retracing his steps to Cairo, he met the two Jews, by whom he transmitted an account of the information he had collected to the king.

A.D. 1487.

He subsequently returned to Aden, whence he crossed over to Zaila, and thence proceeded to the court of Shoä. He was received with the greatest distinction by Iskender, the reigning prince, but he was never permitted to leave the country. Here he was found by Alvarez, the almoner to the embassy of John de Lima in 1525, who observes that the king had given him a wife and lands, that he was still a brave soldier and a good Christian, and as much beloved by the people as by the king. De Payva had previously perished in his first voyage.*

A.D. 1490.

In A.D. 1503 one Ludovico de Barthema, or Vertomanus, travelled in Arabia; he landed at Aden from the Hejáz, and as soon as it was known that he was a Christian, he was seized

A.D. 1503.

* Greene, vol. i. p. 18.

manacled, and cast into prison, where he remained fifty-five days. At the expiration of this time, he was sent for by the ruler of Aden, and having been shackled and fastened on a camel, he was conveyed to Rodäa, where the sultan had assembled an army of 30,000 men, to make war upon the sultan of Sanäa.

On being interrogated by the sultan, he professed himself a Mahomedan; but on refusing to repeat the protestation of faith, he was again imprisoned, on suspicion of being a Christian spy. Here he remained three months, his only fare being a scanty allowance of bread and water.

Three days after his confinement, the sultan marched with his army, in which, amongst others, there were four thousand horsemen, Abyssinian slaves, and born of Christian parents. These were purchased very young, and trained to arms: they were held in high estimation, and always formed the body-guard of the prince. They were armed with shields of hide, fantastically painted, and strengthened by bars of iron; also darts, a short species of broadsword, and slings.

Close by the prison of Barthema dwelt one of the three wives of the sultan, who fell in love with him, and by her kind attentions his captivity was greatly alleviated. He subsequently feigned madness, the better to deceive his keeper, and impart an air of sanctity to his character. One day, the queen desired him to accompany her on a hunting expedition, which he did, and on his return feigned illness, which caused her much uneasiness. At last he took occasion to inform her that he had made a vow to visit a certain holy man in Aden, and desired her permission to go there. She not only acceded to his request, but supplied him with money to enable him to accomplish his journey. At Aden, Barthema made arrangements for proceeding to India; but as the vessel would not sail for a month, he occupied himself in visiting various cities of Yemen,—amongst others, Häis, Raima, El-Makrán, and Sanäa.

Barthema further relates, that the sultan of Aden besieged Sanäa with an army of 80,000 men for three months; at first it resisted him successfully, but at last it surrendered. The sultan of Sanäa, he says, had twelve sons, one of whom had a partiality for eating human flesh, and slew many to gratify this unnatural appetite.*

It is easy to reconcile this narrative with the events recorded in the preceding chapter. The sultan of Aden was probably Abd-el-Wahâb ibn Tâhir, then sovereign of Yemen, and the sultan of Sanäa was probably Mahommed ibn Nâsr, or his successor, the former of whom took Sanäa in A.D. 1461, and continued to hold it, in defiance of his legitimate sovereign's authority.

* Purchas, his Pilgrims, vol. i. p. 1483.

If we except the journeys of Covilham and Payva, the first appearance of the Portuguese in the Red Sea occurred in A.D. 1504, when the king of Portugal, instigated by the desire to form an eastern empire, assumed the magnificent title of "Lord of the Navigation, Conquest, and Commerce of Arabia," and commenced the exercise of his prerogative by despatching a vessel to the Red Sea, which captured an Arab ship, the crew of which were treated in a most inhuman manner.

A.D. 1504.

Two years after this, Alphonso Albuquerque took the Curia Muria islands, Muscat, and other important places on both sides of the Arabian Gulf.

In the year A.D. 1510 Zaila* was taken by the Mamlook Sultan of Egypt, who, by means of this port, and galleys cruising in the Straits of Bab-el-Mandeb, laid the Indian and Abyssinian trades under heavy contribution.

A.D. 1510.

Helena, qüeen of Abyssinia, anxious to obtain the assistance of the Portuguese against these troublesome neighbours, sent Mathew, an Armenian merchant, as ambassador to the court of Lisbon. He went by the circuitous route of India, where, his dignity not being at first properly recognised, he was somewhat roughly treated, and detained for two years.

In A.D. 1513, however, he arrived in Portugal, where he met with a most flattering reception. In the mean time Don Alphonso de Albuquerque had been despatched to the Rea Sea, in the hope of being able to aid the Abyssinians against the Mahomedans; he was also charged by King Emanuel with another enterprise, that of endeavouring to obtain the stronghold of Aden by capture.

A.D. 1513.

His expedition started from India on the 18th of February 1513, and consisted of twenty ships, manned by 1,700 Portuguese and 800 Indian sailors. It arrived at Aden on Easter Eve, and on the following morning the troops were landed with scaling ladders. They succeeded in capturing an outwork, where many of the defenders were slain, and thirty-nine pieces of ordnance were taken; but after a siege of four days, they were repulsed with great slaughter, and, after having plundered and burnt the vessels in the harbour, and cannonaded the town, Albuquerque sailed for the Red Sea. He first touched at Mokha, in the hope of being able to unite with the Abys-

* Zaila, the Avalites of Ptolemy, is situated in a bay of the same name, on the African Coast, close to the Straits of Bab-el-Mandeb. It was the seaport of the ancient capital of Adel, and now assumes the same position to Hurrur and Southern Abyssinia. It is a decayed town, of only eight stone houses and eight hundred inhabitants, the greater portion of whom live in huts of mats and reeds; it is under the government of the Turks, but the revenues are farmed to a native of the coast, named Shermarki Ali Sáleh, who resides there.

sinian Christians against the Mahomedans, but, being unsuccessful, he proceeded to the island of Kamerán, where he wintered.

In July he departed, and coming again before Aden, he found it newly fortified; so that, after exchanging a few shots, and burning a few vessels, the viceroy sailed again for India.*

Notwithstanding the gallant defence of the governor of Aden, the Ameer Moorján (styled by the Portuguese authors Mira Mirzan), this attack filled the inhabitants of Yemen with the greatest consternation. Moosa, the governor of Zebeed, fled to Jedda, which so enraged the sultan of Yemen, Abd-el-Wahâb Táhir, that, leaving his son to conduct the government of the country, he followed him thither.†

A.D. 1515.

In A.D. 1515, Mathew the Abyssinian envoy returned to India, in a fleet which had been sent thither, under Lope Soarez de Albergaria, who had been appointed governor of the Portuguese possessions in India, on the death of Albuquerque. An ambassador to the court of Abyssinia, named Duarte Galvan, also accompanied the expedition, but being an old man, he died ere he had accomplished the object of his mission.

A.D. 1516.

The viceroy had no sooner entered upon his administration than, in accordance with his king's instructions, he prepared for the Red Sea; and hearing that Kansú-el-Ghauri, the Memlook Sultan of Egypt, was preparing a fleet at Suez, he sailed from Goa in quest of it. The fleet left Goa on the 8th February 1516, and consisted of twenty-seven sail of various kinds, containing 1,200 Portuguese and 1,600 Malabars, one-half of whom were seamen, and the other half soldiers.

The fleet of El-Ghauri consisted of twenty-seven sail, and was fitted out with the intention of ridding the Red Sea of the Portuguese, and of taking possession of Aden. The command of it was entrusted to the Räis Suleimán, a Turkish eunuch of low extraction, from the island of Mitylene. Suleimán attacked Aden, but was repulsed with severe loss; he then proceeded up the Red Sea, where he succeeded in taking most of the ports of Yemen.

About the same time the Shereef of Mecca, Barakát ibn Mahomed, paid a visit to Egypt, where he was received with marked distinction, and appointed governor of Sanäa. On his return, he assumed charge of his government, and prepared an army, to co-operate, if necessary, with the Egyptian fleet.

On the arrival of Soarez at Aden, the defences of which had been somewhat injured by the Räis Suleimán, the governor, making a virtue of necessity, tendered his submission to the Portuguese, and offered the keys of the fortress.

* Greene, vol. i. p. 74; The Portugues Asia, vol. i. p. 189; Purchas, vol. i. p. 1683.

† El-Khuzraji.

Lope Soarez, pleased at this, and not doubting the good faith of the governor, did not take possession of the city, intending to do so on his return.

At Aden, Soarez hearing that Suleimán had been driven into Jedda by stress of weather, resolved to follow him thither. On his arrival, he in vain endeavoured to destroy the fleet, and was compelled to return to the island of Kamerán. Thence, after suffering much from famine, and losing seventeen men, taken by the Arabs, he proceeded to Zaila, which he took and burnt.

On his return to Aden, he found that the Ameer Moorján had employed the time of his absence to good purpose, and had repaired and strengthened the defences; accordingly, being under no apprehensions, he openly defied the Portuguese, and refused to deliver up the city.

Baffled in his designs on Aden, Soarez sailed for Berbera,* intending to do to that place as he had done to Zaila; but the fleet being scattered by storms, and 800 men lost, he deferred the attempt till the following year, when he took and burnt it without resistance.

He also visited the town of Mait,† but the inhabitants deserted it at his approach, so that few supplies were obtained. The Portuguese were greatly distressed for water, none being procurable in the wádi or watercourse; but a woman whom they seized directed them to open pits in the channel, and by following this advice their wants were plentifully supplied.‡

A.D. 1517.

Shortly after these events, Sultan Selim I. overthrew the Mamlook power in Egypt, by the defeat of Tomán Bey, successor to El-Ghauri, upon which many of the Arabian chiefs tendered their allegiance to him; a great proportion, however, could not be persuaded to do so.§

* Berbera, the Mosayllon of the author of the Periplus, is a seaport in Africa, directly south of Aden, situated in lat. 10° 25′ 45″ N., and long. 45° 6′ E. It was the grand mart of the ancients on this coast, and is still the great outlet for the commerce of North-Eastern Africa. It is rather an encampment than a town, the inhabitants during the annual fair, or from October to April, living in huts of reeds, mats, and sticks; at other times it is entirely deserted. It has a large trade in sheep, cattle, ghee, coffee, various descriptions of gums and resins, and ostrich feathers. As many as 20,000 natives annually assemble here to barter their goods with the merchants of Muscat, Baherain, Bussora, Porebunder, Mandavie, and Bombay, or to carry them over to Aden, where a ready market exists for their produce.

† Mait, sometimes written Meyt, is a small town on the African Coast, in lat. 11° 1′ 38″ N., and long. 47° 10′ 25″ E. It is the Tapatéyè of the Periplus, and now a mart of considerable trade. It is celebrated as containing the tomb of Ishák, the patriarch of the western Somáli races who came over from Hadramaut some time after his countryman Däood had founded the nations to the eastward.

‡ Greene, vol. i. p. 76; The Portugues Asia, vol. i. p. 211; Harris, vol. i. p. 673.

§ Knolles, vol. i. p. 374.

Not content with a nominal suzerainty over the Arabian provinces, Selim determined to march against that country in person; and Aden, on account of its excellent harbour, was fixed upon as the station whence all the Turkish conquests in India, and expeditions against the Portuguese, were to emanate.

The death of Selim for a time delayed the proposed invasion of Yemen, and it was reserved for his successor, Suleimán, surnamed the 'Magnificent,' to carry out his father's project. The desire of this monarch to obtain possession of India was greatly increased by the valuable presents sent to him by Badur, king of Cambay, who implored his assistance against the Portuguese.

A.D. 1520.

The timber wherewith to build a fleet in the Red Sea was cut in the forests of Cilicia, and transported from the port of Adalia to Pelusium, where it was carried up the Nile to Cairo. It was there prepared in frame, and, when ready to be put together, was transported across the desert to Suez; as was also the entire equipment, including cordage, anchors, cables, guns, &c.

When the fleet was ready, all the Venetian sailors on board the galleys of their country, in the harbour of Alexandria, were seized and sent to Suez, for service on board the Turkish vessels. The land forces, exclusive of gunners and seamen, amounted to 4,000 Janissaries and 16,000 other soldiers. The command of this fleet, which comprised seventy-six vessels, small and great, was given to Räis Suleimán, who had by this time become a Pasha and governor of Cairo. He was about eighty years of age, and he is represented as having been short and stout, and so hideous, and of so savage a disposition, as to have resembled a beast rather than a man.*

A.D. 1538.

On the 27th June 1538, the fleet left Suez, and on the 20th July it arrived at Kamerán, where the Pasha despatched express boats to the ports of Aden and Zebeed, ordering the chiefs of those places to be in readiness to furnish provisions to the fleet, and to pay tribute to the sultan.

On the 3rd of August, the fleet arrived at Aden, and four men immediately came on board the Pasha's vessel, with presents of various kinds of refreshments. These were received courteously, and dismissed with return gifts, and a message to the sultan of Aden, to the effect that he might come on board in safety.

This chief, whose name was Omár ibn Däood, at first declined to visit the Pasha; but at length, having been informed that it was necessary for him to do homage to the Grand Seignior through his representative, he waived his objections, and visited the Pasha on board his vessel. At first he was well

* Suleimán Pasha subsequently committed suicide at Constantinople.

EE.A.57

103324

received, but, on rising to depart, he was seized by order of the Pasha, and, together with four of his favourites, hanged at the yard-arm.

Suleimán had, previous to this, pretended that he had many sick men on board, and having obtained houses in the town in which to lodge them, he conveyed a number of soldiers on shore, lying on beds as if sick. These, as soon as the chief was put to death, seized the city.

Suleimán then proceeded to Diu, where his fleet was joined by eight vessels belonging to the king of Cambay. The Pasha landed his forces, and commenced to batter the town; but the governor resisted his attack with great bravery, until the arrival of the viceroy of Goa with reinforcements, when the Turks raised the siege with the utmost precipitation, leaving behind them their tents, arms, ammunition, artillery, and about two thousand men, all of which fell into the hands of the Portuguese.

In returning from this disgraceful expedition, Suleimán Pasha again called at Aden, on the 5th December. Being desirous of securing this post, he caused a hundred pieces of artillery, great and small, to be landed from the fleet, also a large quantity of powder and shot, and leaving five small vessels, and a garrison, consisting of 500 men, and a sanják, he proceeded up the Red Sea.

The fleet anchored at Mokha, the governor of which city waited upon the admiral, and sent him a large quantity of provisions, treasures, and male and female slaves. The Pasha then sent ambassadors to Zebeed, directing the Emir Ahmed, governor of that city, to come to the sea-shore and do homage. The latter replied that he would willingly pay tribute, or receive a Turkish standard, but he would not come to the coast. The Pasha, enraged at this reply, sent his Kahia on the following day, with a banner, accompanied by four stout Janissaries, who, arriving at Zebeed, presented it to the chief. He made a handsome return present, amongst which were a jewelled scimitar and dagger, and some fine pearls. The Kahia again urged him to come to the coast; but the chief, having the example of the sultan of Aden before his eyes, would not consent. When the Kahia saw that it was useless to urge him further, he said,—"If you will not come to the Pasha, he will come to you,"—and so took his departure.

A.D. 1539.

The fleet remained at Mokha till the middle of January 1539, when it proceeded to Kamerán. The Pasha then proceeded to the mainland, and caused four light guns to be put on carriages, and his men, provisions, and ammunition to be got ready, in order to march against Zebeed. The force arrived before that town on the 20th February. In the mean time many of the soldiers of the governor had deserted to the Turks; so, distrusting the remainder, he came forth with a cord about his neck, in token of being the sultan's slave, and presented himself before the Pasha, who immediately

ordered his head to be struck off. His people, seeing this, fled to the mountains, whither the Pasha sent emissaries, begging them to return, and promising high pay. Two hundred Abyssinian slaves, relying on this assurance, returned, upon which they were treacherously massacred.

After this, the Pasha entrusted the government of Zebeed and the other conquests in Yemen to Mustaffa Bey. Moreover, he garrisoned the city, supplied it with guns and ammunition, and left four small vessels to guard the coast.

Previous to quitting Kamerán, Suleimán beheaded all his Portuguese captives, and some Indian converts, to the number of 146, after which he returned to Constantinople.*

From this time, the whole of the coast of Arabia acknowledged the power of Suleimán the Magnificent, and, penetrating inland, his armies obtained possession of Yemen, and even carried their victories into some of the mountainous districts beyond its northern frontiers, while Sanäa became the seat of the Pasha of Yemen.

The account given by Mahomedan authors of these times is rather contradictory. El-Khuzraji states that the death of the Sultan Abd-el-Waháb Táhir took place at Jabán in A.D. 1538, on his return from collecting his annual tribute, and that he was succeeded by his son Omár, whose reign was one continued scene of bloodshed and confusion. Probably Omár's actual reign did not last more than one year, namely till A.D. 1539, when Sanäa became the capital of the Turkish Pashalik; but the merciless conduct of the Turks, and the constant revolt of the Arab tribes, plunged the country into a state of anarchy, or it may be that the Turks only received tribute from a few chiefs, and Sultan Omár ibn Abd-el-Waháb and the Shereef Barakát were permitted for a time to administer the government of their respective provinces, as vassals of the sublime Porte.

After the departure of Suleimán Pasha, a rumour reached Goa that another Turkish fleet was being prepared at Suez, and learning that it could not set out during that year, the viceroy, Don Stephano de Gama, determined to be beforehand with them, and in some measure to revenge the late insult at Diu, as well as prevent a repetition, by burning the fleet in the harbour of Suez.

A.D. 1540.

Accordingly, he set sail with eighty vessels of various sizes, and 2,000 men. On his arrival in the Red Sea, he found many of the cities deserted. He was repulsed by the Turks at Suez, and compelled to return to India, without having accomplished the object of his voyage.†

* Venetian Officer, apud Greene, vol. i. pp. 88—102; Harris, vol. i. pp. 102—676; The Portugues Asia, vol. i. p. 433; Haji Khalifa's Maritime Wars of the Turks, p. 66.

† De Castra, apud Greene, vol. i. p. 107.

Notwithstanding that Suleimán Pasha, when he reduced Aden, had left a garrison in that city, the inhabitants rebelled, and delivered it up to the Portuguese. To recover it, Peri Pasha, the Capudán of Egypt, was sent there in A.D. 1551 with a fleet. He planted his artillery against the defences, and, having taken the place by storm, he expelled the Portuguese, and left in it a considerable garrison, provided with the necessary means of defence.*

A.D. 1551.

In A.D. 1599, the inhabitants of Yemen raised the standard of rebellion against the Ottoman government, but they were defeated in a series of battles by Hassan Pasha, the Begler Bey of that province. The chief amongst them, who appeared in the name of Imám Mehdi, and several other Arabs, suffered death by decapitation; and the whole of the insurgents were visited by severe retribution. Mahommed, governor of Kaukebán, and Abd-er-Rahmán, ruler of Hájer, returned to their allegiance, and afforded their aid to Sinán, the deputy who was left to quell the disturbance, and things soon became settled.†

A.D. 1599.

* Haji Khalifa, p. 71.

† Naima, vol. i. p. 146.

CHAPTER XVI.

FROM THE FIRST APPEARANCE OF THE BRITISH IN THE RED SEA TO THE EVACUATION OF YEMEN BY THE TURKS.

The Red Sea was first visited by the English in A.D. 1609, when the *Ascension*, a vessel belonging to the East India Company, commanded by Captain Alexander Sharpey, proceeded thither, in the hope of being able to establish commercial relations with Arabia. Captain Sharpey arrived at Aden on the 8th of April, and the governor at once sent the chief naval authorities on board, to invite him to land, which he unadvisedly did. At first, he was received with as much pomp as the town could afford; but the governor, when he had got him into a house, kept him in durance there for six weeks. The governor induced him to send on board for goods to the value of 2,500 dollars, promising to buy them; but when they arrived on shore, he seized them for the customs dues of the vessel. When he saw that he had got as much out of Captain Sharpey as he could, he sent him back to his ship, but detained two of his companions until the sum of 2,000 dollars, which he demanded for anchorage, should be paid. This was refused; whereupon the two Englishmen were sent to the Pasha at Sanäa.

A.D. 1609.

On the 10th of May Captain Sharpey proceeded to Mokha, which was then the great mart for the trade between India and Egypt. The Turkish governor was courteous and liberal, and permitted the foreigners to trade without molestation.*

In the following year Admiral Sir Henry Middleton was sent on another trading voyage by the East India Company. He arrived at Aden on the 10th of November, where he found that the governor had been changed since Captain Sharpey's visit. He was named Jäafer Pasha. Being unable to obtain a pilot there, he proceeded to Mokha in his own vessel, accompanied by the *Darling*, and left the remaining vessel of the squadron, the *Peppercorn*, at Aden.

A.D. 1610.

On his arrival at Mokha, on the 14th of November, Sir Henry was received with marks of great distinction by Rejib Agha, the governor of the town; a house was appointed for the use of himself and his companions, he was invested with a robe of honour, and was promised every assistance to enable him to dispose of his goods to advantage.

* Purchas, vol. i. p. 232; Greene, vol. i. p. 343.

This courteous treatment, however, appeared to be only a lure to induce the strangers to cast aside all suspicion, and to trust themselves implicitly to the hospitality of the Turks. One evening, when Sir Henry and his companions were sitting out in front of the house, they were attacked by a body of Turks. Eight of their number were slain, and fourteen severely wounded. Sir Henry himself was felled by a blow on his head, and, while in a state of insensibility, his hands were bound; he was then assisted to rise, and led between two Turks to the Agha, before whom he found several of his companions. Sir Henry and seven others were then chained together by the neck, some of the others were chained by the hands, and some by the feet, and thus they were left in charge of two soldiers, who, taking pity upon them, eventually eased their bonds.

In the mean time, about 10 P.M., the Turks armed three boats, and put into them 150 soldiers, with the intention of taking the *Darling*, which was nearest to the shore. The boats put off together, and boarded the *Darling*; three of her crew were slain ere they had any knowledge of the intended treachery, but the remainder made a spirited resistance. The Turks, through a misconception of the orders of their chief, the Emeer-el-Bahr, or 'captain of the port,' cut adrift their own boats, which were thus lost to them: upon this, one of the crew of the *Darling* threw a cask of gunpowder amongst the assailants, and after it a firebrand, which ignited it, and caused great destruction. The survivors retired for safety to the half deck and poop, where they were mercilessly slaughtered. Some, in attempting to save their lives, jumped overboard, and were drowned, and of the whole party but one escaped, and he was made prisoner.

The boats which had been cut adrift returned to the shore, and those in them conveyed the intelligence that the ships had been taken. They were again sent off to desire the Emeer-el-Bahr to bring her close to shore, but ere they reached the *Darling*, she had set sail, and stood out to sea; from which the governor perceived that the reverse of what he had believed had actually occurred.

He accordingly sent to Sir Henry Middleton, and with many threats, ordered him to write to the captain of the larger vessel, directing him to deliver it, with all it contained, into his hands, upon which conditions alone he would consent to liberate the prisoners, and permit them, as well as the crews of both vessels, to go home in the *Darling*. Notwithstanding that Sir Henry was threatened with death in the event of his declining to write the desired letter, he steadfastly refused to do so; whereupon he was separated from the rest of his companions, his hands and legs were loaded with fetters, and he was thrust into a wretched closet beneath a flight of steps. At night, through the intercession of a Banian merchant, he was removed to a better

room, where he had the society of one of his companions, who understood Turkish. Still he benefited little by the change: his bed was the cold ground, and he had a stone for his pillow, whilst sleep was effectually banished by the multitude of rats which infested the room.

The Agha frequently examined his prisoners as to the quantity of money and provisions on board the vessels; but the answer he received was invariably the same, that there was little money, but water and provisions for two years.

In this state the prisoners remained till the middle of December, while the ships still continued to ride at anchor in the roads, with a scanty supply of water, and no means of communicating with the shore. On the 20th, a message came from the Pasha of Sanäa, commanding the presence of the prisoners there; accordingly, two days afterwards, their irons were knocked off, and the whole party, with the exception of a few artificers and sick men, numbering thirty-four in all, left Mokha for Sanäa.

Sir Henry Middleton and one other were mounted on horse-back; the remainder had asses provided for their use. The journey was accomplished in fifteen days, during which time the captives, being but ill prepared for the piercing air of the mountains, suffered greatly from the inclemency of the weather. Every morning the ground was white with hoar-frost, and on one occasion they had ice a finger thick. When within a mile of the town, they were met by a large crowd, and about 200 musicians, who escorted them in triumph to the castle, where Sir Henry and one companion were taken before the Pasha. It happened to be a council day, and they were at once interrogated as to how they, being Christians, had dared to come to Arabia and approach so near the holy city. They replied that they had been welcomed by the governor of Mokha, who had given them a formal permission to trade at that port, and, having lulled them into false security, had treacherously attacked them, killing some of their party, and making the remainder prisoners. They then requested free permission to depart, assuring the Pasha that the treatment they had received would effectually deter their countrymen from coming to so inhospitable a shore. The Pasha refused to liberate them, alleging that it would be necessary to refer to Constantinople for instructions as to their disposal.

After this interview, the party were taken to prison; Sir Henry, with one or two others, were lodged somewhat better than the rest, who were loaded with heavy chains, and consigned to the common gaol.

On the 18th of February they were permitted to depart, with a warning that no Christians would thereafter be admitted to any of the ports of Arabia, even though they should obtain a safe conduct from the Grand Seignior. They reached Mokha on the 5th of March.

A.D. 1611.

Some of the men were at once permitted to proceed on board their vessels, but Sir Henry and the remainder were detained on shore. They subsequently effected their escape on board, and thus, being beyond the power of the Turks, and having entire command of the sea, Sir Henry compelled the governor not only to restore all the property which had been plundered, but to pay the sum of 18,000 dollars as an indemnity for losses sustained.*

Captain Doveton, of the *Peppercorn*, who had been left behind at Aden when Sir Henry quitted that port, experienced similar treachery from the governor there, twenty of his men having been betrayed, and for some time detained prisoners.†

It appears from the narrative of Sir Henry Middleton, that though the province of Yemen, and even its capital Sanäa, was under the government of the Turks, still the mountainous regions were unsubdued, and ruled by Arab chiefs, and that the former were held in great abhorrence, on account of their proud and insolent behaviour; so much so, that no Turk could travel up or down, without a safe conduct from the chief through whose districts he passed.

A.D. 1612.

Early in the following year another expedition, consisting of the ships *Cloue*, *Hector* and *Thomas*, under the command of Captain John Saris, visited Mokha. Captain Saris found that Rejib Agha had been deposed, and one Idher Agha, a Greek by birth, had been appointed governor of that port. He was well received and sumptuously entertained by the governor and chief men of the city, who one and all begged that the cruel and discourteous treatment experienced by Sir Henry Middleton at the hands of Rejib Agha might be forgotten.

Orders were also received from the Pasha of Yemen, to the effect that the strangers should be allowed to trade freely, both on shore and with the Indian ships, and that they should be permitted to take from Mokha anything that they might desire.‡

A.D. 1614.

Two years after this, a fleet under Van den Broeck was sent for the first time by the Dutch East India Company to the Red Sea, to obtain information regarding the nature of the commerce in those parts.

On the arrival of the fleet at Mait, on the African coast, a vessel carrying a white flag was despatched to Aden, to inform the governor of that port of the arrival of the Dutch, and to explain the reason of their coming. The governor behaved towards the captain of this vessel with great civility, and dismissed him with presents, and an assurance that his countrymen would be well received. On the following day, the fleet cast anchor in Aden harbour,

* Purchas, vol. i. p. 249. † Idem, p. 274. ‡ Idem, p. 334.

and an officer was immediately sent from the shore to inspect the vessels, and invite Van den Broeck to dine with the governor on the following day. He accepted the invitation, and was conveyed to the palace with great ceremony, between two lines of soldiers. Having presented to the governor some articles which he had brought for that purpose, the governor asked him of what nation he was. Van den Broeck explained that he was a subject of the States General and of the Prince of Orange, and that he had the permission of the Grand Seignior to traffic in all parts of his dominions. The governor replied that as they had come in the capacity of friends, they should be treated as such; but that it was necessary, in the first instance, that the Pasha of Yemen should be apprised of their arrival, and that, in the mean time, they should be provided with a suitable abode.

However, after the repast was concluded, Van den Broeck received a hint that he had better leave Aden, as the resident merchants there viewed his arrival with considerable jealousy; he accordingly weighed anchor, and proceeded to Shehr, where he was well received, and where he established a factory.

Towards the close of the following year Van den Broeck resumed his course towards the Red Sea, and arrived at Mokha in January 1616. He was treated with great distinction by the governor, and at his request a house was allotted as a factory, where the mercantile transactions of the Dutch might be carried on. It was settled that import duties should be charged at the rate of three and a half per cent., whereupon Van den Broeck ordered his merchandise to be brought on shore, and disposed of it at a remunerative rate, receiving payment in ready money.

A.D. 1616.

He also obtained from the governor of Mokha a firman to visit the various towns of Yemen, and an injunction to the provincial governors to treat him with respect, and pay all his expenses. Accompanied by one of his officers, he proceeded to Sanäa. On approaching the city, the Pasha sent him a beautiful horse, with trappings richly ornamented with gold and silver, on which to make his entry, as well as a guard of 300 soldiers. Near the city gate, the Pasha himself, with more than 200 of the chief men of his court richly apparelled, advanced to do him honour, and conducted him to the palace, from which he was led to a house prepared for his reception.

At an interview which he had with the Pasha on a subsequent occasion, the latter informed him that he had not the power to permit him to leave agents at Mokha, as such a permission could only be given by the sultan himself. The Mahomedans dreaded that the Dutch should extend their agencies as far as the holy city itself. "You were first at Aden," they said, "and from Aden you went to Shehr, whence you have come to Mokha; your

vessel is now at Hodaida, and you are preparing to penetrate further into the Red Sea than has ever been allowed to any nation professing Christianity."

Thus Van den Broeck was obliged to leave Sanäa without having obtained a confirmation of the promise made to him by the governor of Mokha, to trade permanently on payment of three and a half per cent. import duty, as that favour had excited the jealousy of the Persian and Indian merchants, who were required to pay from fifteen to sixteen per cent.

The Pasha of Yemen, during the visit of Van den Broeck, was the same who had ruled there during the captivity of Sir Henry Middleton. He was by birth a Hungarian; he acted as viceroy of the sultan, a dignity which was only conferred for three years, but Jäafer Pasha had held the government for nine years, and it was reported that he had poisoned two Pashas who had been sent to relieve him. He waged incessant war against the Arabs.

After losing all hope of being able to form an agency at Mokha, Van den Broeck came to the resolution of removing the merchants whom he had left at Shehr; he then proceeded to India.*

Two years later, the English were successful in obtaining what the Dutch had failed to accomplish. Captain Shilling proceeded to Mokha in the *Anne Royal*, by desire of Sir Thomas Roe, his majesty's ambassador at the court of the Mogul, to endeavour to place the commerce of the East India Company on a more satisfactory footing in Arabia.

A.D. 1618.

Rejib Agha, the same who had imprisoned Sir Henry Middleton, was again governor of Mokha; he expressed great sorrow for his former behaviour, alleging that he had only acted in obedience to the orders of the Pasha; now, however, he granted a firman, permitting the English to trade freely at Mokha, and to establish a factory there, and defined the import and export duties, which were not to exceed three per cent., payable in money or kind; this concession was confirmed by the governor of Yemen.†

In A.D. 1630 the Turks, whose name and government had become alike odious, were compelled to evacuate Yemen. It is doubtful, however, whether the native Arabs would have had the power to compass their ejection, had they made a very spirited resistance; but the withdrawal of the Indian trade, in a great measure, from the Red Sea, to the longer but more convenient route by the Cape of Good Hope, made so distant and troublesome a dependency as Yemen almost useless, and hardly worth defending.

A.D. 1630.

* Hist. Gen. des Voyages, vol. xxxi. p. 424.

† Purchas, vol. i. p. 622.

CHAPTER XVII.

YEMEN FROM THE COMMENCEMENT OF THE SECOND DYNASTY OF IMA'MS OF SANÄA TO THE WAHA'BEE INVASION.

On the withdrawal of the Turks, Yemen once more fell into the hands of the family of Barakát, who claimed descent from Ali ibn Aboo Táleb.

A.D. 1630.

Kássim, while residing on his patrimonial estates in the neighbourhood of Lohaia, was greatly instrumental in freeing his country from the sway of the Turks. He enjoyed the friendship of the independent mountain chiefs, and, seeing the Turks to be odious to his countrymen, he, by the aid of those Sheikhs, commenced a series of attacks upon them, which ultimately had the effect of driving them out of all the cities of Yemen.

Raised to the dignity of sovereign, he assumed the title of Seyed, or 'lord,' but after his death the gratitude of his countrymen conferred upon him the title of El-Kebeer, or 'the great.'* After this, the ancient family of Kaukebán, being obliged to yield its prerogative to the family of Kássim, Ismail, the eldest son of the latter, assumed the title of Imám Metawákkil ala Ullah, while the family of Kaukebán, which had hitherto distinguished its chief by that title, reverted to the more modest one of Seyed.

An Imám is literally a *priest*, or leader of the prayers in a mosque. The successors of Mahommed continued to exercise their religious functions, in proof that they enjoyed spiritual as well as temporal power, and various Arabian princes, who dared not aspire to the title of Kálif, took that of Imám, to which they frequently added that of Aïmeer-el-Mäoomineen, or 'prince of the faithful,' and, like the kálifs, observed the custom of changing their name when they ascended the throne. This custom seemed to typify that their whole nature underwent a change upon being invested with an office to which a certain amount of sanctity was attached.†

The throne of Yemen was hereditary under the Imáms. If generally approved by his subjects, the eldest son was rightful successor; but the order of primogeniture was frequently violated. The Imám was an absolute prince, the more so from uniting in person both temporal and spiritual power; he was controlled in a certain measure, however, by the supreme council of Sanäa,

* Neibuhr's Travels, vol. ii. p. 71.

† Idem, p. 72.

which alone posssessed the power of life and death, though this was not invariably regarded by the Imám.*

A Dowla,† or *governor* of a province, was somewhat equivalent to the Turkish grade of Pasha, though acting on a more limited scale; he held office under the Imáms, commanded the troops in his province, regulated the taxes and police arrangements, and collected the revenues. These dowlas were recalled every two or three years, to prevent their acquiring too great power, or amassing an undue amount of wealth; they were obliged to render an account from time to time, and, when guilty of high misdemeanours or malversations of office, they were generally punished by imprisonment and confiscation of property, but seldom by death. Sometimes a dowla who had been thus punished was raised from prison to an office of still greater importance than that from which he had been deposed. Under them was usually a Bas-káteb, or *secretary*, who acted as a sort of spy on their conduct, and who not unfrequently succeeded them; also a Kádi, who was sole *judge* in civil and ecclesiastical affairs. In seaport towns, the Ameer-el-Bahr, or *captain of the port*, exercised chief control in his department, under the dowla; there was usually a Sheikh-el-Beled, who presided over *municipal* affairs and assessed taxes, and an Emeer-es-Sook, or *chief of the markets*.‡

The Imám Ismail ibn Kássim Metawákkil ala Ullah lived a life of the most Spartan simplicity: he was so economical that he made and sold caps for his subsistence, and restricted his household to one wife and a single female slave.§ He was so zealous in maintaining the integrity of his dominions, that his countrymen willingly assisted him against the Turks. He died after a reign of thirty years, universally respected and esteemed for his piety and administrative talents. He was buried at Dorán, where he had chiefly resided.

His cousin Ahmed succeeded him in A.D. 1668, under the title of El-Mejd Billah; he settled at Khurraz. This prince enlarged his kingdom, and was celebrated for his piety.

A.D. 1668.

After his death, which occurred in A.D. 1675, Mahommed ibn Hoosain, a nephew of El-Mejd Billah, had himself proclaimed Imám under the title of El-Mehdi Hádi, and resided at Khurraz, but he had only reigned two years when he was deposed by El-Mehdi Mahommed, a son of his predecessor, El-Mehdi Ahmed. He reigned thirty years, with fluctuating fortunes.‖

A.D. 1675.

* Neibuhr's Travels, vol. ii. p. 83.

† Frequently written in English, Dola; the Arabic word is دولة

‡ Neibuhr's Travels, vol. ii. p. 85. § Idem, p. 73. ‖ Idem, p. 74.

This prince had to sustain a cruel war against the confederate chiefs of Háshid-wa-Bakeel; in the first campaign he sent against them his nephew Kássim ibn Hoosain, who, being victorious, instead of being rewarded, was imprisoned in the fortress of Dthamár. In one of the succeeding wars he sent his son Ibrahim against them, but he was defeated, and the Imám was compelled to release his first general and entrust him with the command of the army. He, having achieved a complete victory, determined not to return to Mooáhib, but remained at Amrán.

A.D. 1677.

In A.D. 1707, one Mahommed ibn Hassan came from Shehr, and had himself proclaimed Imám, under the title of En-Násr, and effectually deposed the reigning Imám. He, in his turn, was deprived of his usurped authority by Kássim ibn Hoosain, the victorious general of El-Mehdi Mahommed ibn Ahmed, ere he had reigned two years. He was proclaimed Imám under the title of El-Metawakkil.*

A.D. 1707.

This prince usually held his court at Mooáhib;—he had little splendour about it, and managed his kingdom very badly. He seldom had fewer than three hundred wives and concubines, of the fairest women of his dominions.†

A.D. 1708.

The Imám Mehdi Mahommed lived several years after the accession of his nephew, and was permitted to retain the style and title of Imám, though the power was in a great measure taken from him; still he appears to have made treaties, and to have acted generally as an independent monarch.

The first visit of the French to Yemen occurred about this period. The ships *Curieuse* and *Diligent*, under M. de Merveille, and belonging to a French company of St. Malo, set sail from Brest on the 6th February 1708. On their arrival at Aden, the commander landed at the sea-gate in Front Bay, and proceeded to the palace of the governor, who treated him with civility, and caused lodgings to be provided for him in the city. On the 27th December the vessels left Aden, and anchored in Mokha roads on the 3rd January 1709.

Here they found a Dutch factory established, to which a vessel of 700 tons was in the habit of coming every year from Batavia, to load with coffee and other Arabian produce.

A.D. 1709.

A treaty was concluded between the French and the Dowla of Mokha, on behalf of Imám Mehdi, to the following effect:—

First.—That the French should enjoy perfect religious freedom.

Secondly.—That they should trade all day, but were to return to their vessels at night.

* Neibuhr's Travels, vol. ii. p. 74. † Hamilton, vol. i. p. 39.

Thirdly.—That they might hoist their national flag at their factory.

Fourthly.—That all their merchandise was to be conveyed through the custom house to their factory.

Fifthly.—That three per cent. import duty was to be levied on all goods sold.

Sixthly.—That two dollars should be charged for every large government boat they might require, and one dollar for every smaller one.

Seventhly.—That they should pay the customary fee for every man who should land.

Eighthly.—That they might obtain redress for any insult offered to them by the inhabitants.

Ninthly.—That under ordinary circumstances they should conduct their sales through the medium of a broker.

Tenthly.—That in consideration of this being the first visit paid by the French, a fourth part of the customs dues should be remitted for that year only.

At this period the Turks had no authority in any part of Arabia, save only at Jedda, where they had a Pasha. The trade of Yemen was chiefly in the hands of the Banian merchants.

A.D. 1711. The French company was so well pleased with the first expedition to Mokha, that in the month of January 1711 they fitted out another, under the command of Messrs. De la Lande and Bricolaine; this did not reach the Red Sea till December.

A.D. 1712. Shortly after their arrival, the old Imám Mehdi, being sick, invited a surgeon from one of the vessels to visit him; the French gladly availed themselves of this opportunity to become better acquainted with the country. Accordingly, on the 14th February 1712, a deputation consisting of twenty persons, accompanied by a troop of horse, left Mokha. They proceeded by Mooza, Jibleh, Yereem, and Dthamár till they arrived at Mooáhib, where the Imám was.

This prince was an old man of eighty, of a handsome figure and countenance, inclining to tawny; he provided the French with apartments in his own palace, and frequently supplied their table from his own kitchen. He was exceedingly simple in his apparel, seldom wearing anything save a garment of fine cloth, devoid of all ornamentation; the only thing which distinguished him was a veil of white silk fastened to his turban, and, falling down, was tied under his chin. He lived with the greatest regularity, and kept little state, save when he went to the mosque on Friday; on such occasions the procession consisted of 1,000 foot soldiers armed with matchlocks, two hundred horsemen, and the officers of the household and court mounted; after these came the Imám, accompanied by some of his sons, riding under a canopy of green silk enriched with gold embroidery.

The travellers remained three weeks at Mooáhib, attending the king's recovery; while there an ambassador from Constantinople arrived at the court of the Imám; he was accompanied by a numerous retinue, and brought many valuable presents; the object of this mission was to represent that in consequence of the increased direct trade between Arabia and Europe, the commerce and revenue of the Sultan had suffered greatly, and a request was made that henceforth this new species of trade should be discontinued, and that no coffee should be exported except through Egypt. It is needless to say that the Imám refused to listen to the representations of the Turkish government.*

Kássim ibn Hoosain died in 1719, and was succeeded by his son Hoosain, under the name of El-Mansoor. The throne was soon usurped by Mahommed Ishák, who took the name of El-Mejd; he was nephew of El-Mehdi Mahommed, and was so well supported by Mahommed ibn Hoosain, chief of Kaukebán, that he made himself master of the whole country, with the exception of Sanäa; but his reign only lasted one year, after which both the usurper and his ally were taken prisoners by the Imám, who devastated the country of Kaukebán.

A.D. 1719.

In 1728 Abdulla ibn Aboo Taleb, another nephew of El-Mehdi Mahommed, endeavoured to upset the government, but he was captured and imprisoned at Sanäa, where he died in A.D. 1761. Shortly after this, Ahmed, a brother of the Imám, was sent to govern Ta'ez, but he fortified himself so securely that he could not be reduced to obedience.†

A.D. 1728.

In A.D. 1738 a serious misunderstanding occurred between the government of Yemen and the French East India Company. The Dowla of Mokha made a practice of purchasing goods from the Indian ships, exceeding in value the amount of custom dues for which the owners were liable, and, instead of paying ready money, he was in the habit of promising to deduct the value out of the next year's duties. By dealing in this manner for several years, the French Company at length found him 82,000 dollars‡ in their debt. In order to obtain payment for so considerable a sum, a man of war was sent to escort the merchant vessels.

A.D. 1738.

The captains, on their arrival, sent to acquaint the Dowla that they had come to sell their cargoes, but would not land their goods until the former debt was discharged. The Dowla, forewarned of the hostile intentions of the French, refused to comply with their demands, and prepared for resistance.

* La Roque. † Neibuhr's Travels, vol. ii. p. 74. ‡ Equivalent to £18,630.

The city was defended by 20,000 men, cavalry and infantry, while the attacking force did not exceed 1,800, of whom a considerable number were Indian sepoys. In spite of the well-directed fire of the garrison, the French succeeded in placing their siege artillery and mortars in position, and just as the defenders were on the point of making a strong sortie, a shell was fired into the midst of them. The Arabs, unacquainted with this species of projectile, rushed in numbers to inspect it, whereupon it burst, and killed forty people. A panic seized the soldiers, who looked upon the shell as an instrument of supernatural power, and all endeavoured to secure their safety by flight. This extraordinary and almost ludicrous incident placed the town at the mercy of the French, and the governor was compelled to liquidate the debt.*

A treaty was then concluded, by which the duties were reduced from three to two and a half per cent. The Imám, displeased at the conduct of the governor, recalled him, and confiscated his palace at Sanäa.

The Imám-el-Mansoor Hoosain ibn Kássim died in A.D. 1740, leaving several sons, of whom Ali, by his first wife, a daughter of the chief of Kaukebán, was the legitimate heir to the throne. It was generally believed and desired that this chief should succeed his father, but the machinations of the mother of the second son, an African slave in the harem of the late Imám, prevailed; she concealed the death of her master until the Kadi Yehia ibn Sáleh had influenced the minds of the soldiery and principal governors in favour of her son Abbas. The unfortunate Prince Ali was thrown into prison, where he expired in A.D. 1759, and Abbas ascended the throne, under the title of El-Mehdi.

A.D. 1740.

The new Imám at first retained the Kadi Yehia as his favourite minister; subsequently, however, the latter incurred his master's displeasure, on account of his supposed sympathy with the captive Ali, and was deprived of office; his property was confiscated, and he himself was thrown into prison, where he remained two years. He was then released, and a small pension assigned to him, but he was never re-admitted to favour.†

In A.D. 1750 about 3,000 Arabs of Nehm and Daibán penetrated into the dominions of the Imám, and even approached Sanäa, but they were soon routed and dispersed.

A.D. 1750.

Seven years later, the confederates of Háshid-wa-Bakeel invaded his dominions from Kaukebán, on the banks of the Dthamár, and defeated the force which was sent to oppose them. The following year they attempted to advance upon Seráj, but were totally routed, and dispersed by the Imám's forces.

A.D. 1757.

* Cloupet, apud Annales des Voyages, vol. x. p. 177. † Neibuhr's Travels, vol. ii. p. 75.

But the greatest and most formidable enemy with whom the Imám had to contend was Abd-er-Rub ibn Ahmed, who proclaimed himself independent chief of Hajereea. He was the son of a nakeeb who had, for many years, been governor of the small province of Juffros, and the Imám, who had always been well pleased with him, continued Abd-er-Rub in the same appointment after his father's death, and eventually promoted him to the government of Kátaba.

A.D. 1758.

Abd-er-Rub, having been employed by the Imám to demolish several hill forts, made himself many powerful enemies,—amongst others, the nakeeb Mahommed ibn Abdulla of Wadie, who used every means to procure his ruin. This chief, having prepossessed the Imám against him, by accusing him of rebellion, procured an order for his recall; but Abd-er-Rub, having received information of the cause of this mandate, refused to comply with it, and prepared himself for resistance. The Imám sent a force of three thousand men under the nakeeb Mahommed to reduce him to subjection, but this force besieged the town of Kátaba in vain, for eleven months. At length, when no longer able to hold out, Abd-er-Rub made his way through the midst of the enemy at night, with five or six hundred followers, and escaped to the mountain fortresses in the district of Hajereea, where he was received with open arms, while the nakeeb Mahommed returned to Sanäa, overwhelmed with shame and mortification. A second army was sent against him, but it was not more successful than the first had been.

Up to this period, Abd-er-Rub had acted only on the defensive; now, however, beginning to feel his strength, he changed his tactics, and commenced hostilities against the Imám. He took the town of Jibleh, but as it was not fortified, he was unable to retain it; so, having levied forced contributions from the inhabitants, he again retired into Hajereea. The Imám, not being himself able to overcome this heroic chief, made an alliance with Abd-el-Kereem, sultan of Aden, who himself had begun to fear him. These two princes agreed to attack the common enemy, each from his own side: the conqueror did not, however, wait for their attack, but boldly entered the territories of Sultan Abd-el-Kereem, placed a strong garrison in Láhej, which he held for five months, and so effectually blockaded him in Aden that he was forced to pay a large sum to induce him to evacuate the country. During this time the Imám afforded his ally no assistance.*

It will be recollected that in A. D. 1728 the Imám-el-Mansoor Hoosain had committed the government of Ta'ez to his brother Ahmed, who, on being recalled, refused to obey; with an army of 2,000 men he stood out for twelve years against all the forces the Imám

A.D. 1759.

* Neibuhr, vol. ii. p. 78.

could bring against him. He coined his own money, and conducted himself in every respect as an independent sovereign. Ahmed dying, left six sons, the oldest of whom, Abdulla, succeeded him.

On his death, in A.D. 1759, the succession devolved on his son Abd-el-Kereem, a youth of thirteen years of age. Three of this young chieftain's uncles conspired to depose him; whereupon he offered to return to his allegiance, and implored the assistance of the Imám against his relatives.

The Imám despatched an army under two of his generals, Elmas and Ahmed-el-Bamr, to besiege Ta'ez, but their arms were not crowned with success; and, in the meanwhile, Abd-er-Rub formed plans of further conquest. He seized the town of Mooza, and advanced close to Mokha, but the governor of that city having deceived him by the false information that the English vessels in the bay were prepared to co-operate with the legitimate government, he hesitated to advance.

A.D. 1760.

The Imám, finding that he could neither take Ta'ez nor subdue Abd-er-Rub, endeavoured to make peace with the latter, and secured his co-operation against Ta'ez. To this proposition Abd-er-Rub willingly consented, on the understanding that his absolute independence should be recognised, and that he should be viewed in the light of an ally. The Imám bound himself, by the most solemn assurances, to abide by this compact, whereupon Abd-er-Rub led his forces to join the besiegers of Ta'ez, and it was mainly owing to his skill and valour that the city fell. The government of it was then entrusted to an officer of the Imám's army, who was sent there in the capacity of Dowla.

The Imám appeared much satisfied with Abd-er-Rub, and invited him and the family of the late Seedee Ahmed, which had so long defended Ta'ez, and which was then represented by his son Abdulla, to visit him at Sanäa. Abd-er-Rub was suspicious, but, relying implicitly on the protestations of friendship made to him by the generals Elmas and Ahmed-el-Bamr, on the part of the Imám, he decided to accept the invitation.

His progress to Sanäa resembled a triumphal procession, and the inhabitants of the districts through which he passed vied with each other in paying him honour; so much so, that it became evident to the Imám that his subjects despised him, and admired the successful and heroic rebel. No sooner had he entered the city of Sanäa, than he was seized by order of the Imám, stripped naked, his hands and feet dyed red, as is customary with women, and he was thus paraded through the streets on a camel, with his face towards the tail; one of his sisters, on beholding the ignominious treatment to which her brother was subjected, threw herself from the top of a house, and fell dead at his feet. He

was then scourged, and otherwise ill-treated, and finally decapitated on a dung heap.*

This perfidious conduct could not, and did not, fail to draw upon the Imám the hatred of the majority of his subjects; but above all others, Elmas and Ahmed-el-Bamr were disgusted at it, as they had held themselves responsible for his good faith. Ahmed was the first who reproached him, and he was at once imprisoned; this still further exasperated his subjects, and Elmas formed the project of dethroning the Imám.

On this conspiracy reaching the ears of that prince, he took no notice of it, but invited Elmas to an audience; coffee was presented, according to Arab custom, but it was poisoned, and Elmas died ere he could reach his house.

As soon as Kássim-el-Bamr, commander of the forces of Háshid-wa-Bakeel, heard of his brother's imprisonment, he raised a small army and marched towards Amrán. The Imám met him, and, in the first encounter, Moorshed, son of Kássim, was slain, and the insurgents retreated in disorder. The Imám, dreading another attempt to liberate Ahmed, caused him to be executed at Rodäa.†

Not long previous to this period, the principality of Aboo Areesh became independent of the sovereign of Yemen. That prince usually appointed confidential slaves as governors of provinces, to ensure their fidelity; but a late Imám having imprudently appointed a Shereef to the government of Aboo Areesh, the consequence was that he revolted against his sovereign. His son Mahommed, who ruled the country during the visit of Neibuhr in A.D. 1763, withstood all the efforts of the Imám to reduce him to subjection. The Háshid-wa-Bakeel were frequently induced, by large bribes, to join the Imám's army, but their attacks were always made without any regular plan, and invariably failed.

The Sheikh Mekrami of Nejrán also penetrated into this country two successive winters, with a small force; this chief was not of the ancient nobility, but having, in his youth, travelled through Arabia, Persia, and India, he was, on his return, invested by the Imám with the government of Nejrán, when he at once threw off his allegiance. To expel this intruder, the Shereef of Aboo Areesh levied 600 mercenaries from the Háshid-wa-Bakeel, and gave him battle in January 1763; the Shereef was defeated, with a loss of six or seven men, when he shut himself up in his palace in despair. But Sheik Mekrami did not follow up his advantage; for, learning that the Sheikh of Kahtán had entered Nejrán in his absence, he hastened homewards, for the defence of his own territories.‡

A.D. 1763.

* Neibuhr's Travels, vol. ii. p. 80. † Idem, p. 81. ‡ Idem, pp. 54—59.

In A.D. 1762 an expedition was organised by King Frederick V. of Denmark, for the exploration of Arabia, but more particularly of the province of Yemen; it was under the charge of the learned M. Carsten Neibuhr, with whom were associated Professor von Haven, as linguist; Professor Forskal and Dr. Cramer, as naturalists; and M. Baurenfeind, as draughtsman. They arrived in Yemen in the end of December 1762: Von Haven died at Mokha on the 25th May 1763; Forskal died at Yereem on the 11th July following; M. Baurenfeind expired at sea, near the island of Socotra, on the 29th August; and Dr. Cramer at Bombay, on the 11th February 1764.

When Neibuhr visited Sanäa the Imám El-Mehdi Abbas was about forty-five years of age, good-looking, and of a dark complexion, like his mother. He had fifteen or twenty brothers; Seëdee Mahommed was his brother by the mother's side, and the rest were half-brothers by the father's side; the greater number of these were too young to leave the harem. The four eldest who appeared in public were named Abdulla, Ali, Kássim, and Mahommed; Ali, the second son, was the only one who held office,—he was governor of the district of Sanhán, and of the city of Sanäa, which is in it.

The first interview which the Danish travellers had with the Imám was on the 19th July 1763, in his palace of the Bostán-el-Metawakkil. They were conducted into a spacious chamber, with a vaulted roof, having several fountains in the centre, issuing from a large basin. Behind this, and near the throne, were two large benches, each a foot and a half high. Upon the throne was a space covered with silken stuffs, on which lay large cushions, where the Imám reposed. He was attired in robes of green, with flowing sleeves, embroidered with a rich filleting of gold lace, and on his head he wore a large white turban. His sons sat on the right hand, and his brothers on the left; opposite to them, on the highest of the benches, sat the wuzeer; and a place on the lower seats was allotted to the travellers; on either side of the hall sat many of the principal men of the court.

The travellers were permitted to kiss the Imám's hand, as well as the hem of his robe, while a herald proclaimed, amidst profound silence, "God preserve the Imám," which was repeated by all present. After a short conversation, and repeated assurances of welcome, they were permitted to retire.

The Imám was in the habit of going to the mosque, every Friday, with considerable pomp; on such occasions he was wont to make a circuitous route, the better to display his magnificence; he was attended by the princes of the blood royal, and at least 600 officers, civil, military, and ecclesiastical, superbly mounted on horses, and by a vast crowd of people on foot.

On the 23rd July the travellers had another audience of the Imám, previous to their departure, of a more private nature than the former, during which

they exhibited their scientific instruments, and had many questions put to them regarding the manners, trade, and learning of the Europeans. They left Sanäa on the 26th July, and arrived at Mokha on the 5th August.*

Neibuhr asserts that the entire revenue of the Imám used to average about 830,000 dollars per annum, but having lost several important provinces, such as Aden, Aboo Areesh, Kátaba, and Ta'ez, it did not at this time exceed 500,000. The Imám maintained a standing army of 4,000 infantry, chiefly from the confederate tribes of Háshid-wa-Bakeel, and 1,000 cavalry.†

Mokha was at this time the most flourishing port of Yemen, and its commerce was almost entirely engrossed by the English; the East India Company, indeed, used only to send one vessel thither every two years, but an active coffee trade was carried on by Banian and other native as well as European merchants of India. Only three per cent. was levied on Indian goods, but the governor compelled the merchants who purchased them to pay five per cent. in addition; a heavy anchorage duty was also charged, amounting to several hundred dollars, regulated, not by the tonnage of the vessels, but by the number of the masts.‡

A.D. 1770.

In A.D. 1770 the captain of a trading vessel from India was on shore at the British factory at Mokha, and having corrected a slave for some fault, the boy ran away, and took refuge at an Arab house, where he was prevailed upon to become a Mahomedan. As no Christian was permitted to hold a slave of that religion, the boy availed himself of this privilege, and went about the streets of the city without fear of his master's resentment. One day he ventured to pass by the factory, when he was seized and flogged by his former master; but this was attended by consequences which the latter did not foresee.

The factory was at this time inhabited only by supercargoes and masters of vessels, during their short stay in port, and was but ill adapted for defence. A mob attacked it, forced open the gate, and not finding the object of their search, whom they had intended to sacrifice on the spot, they contented themselves by plundering his effects. On the first alarm, the captain had retreated to the terrace of the factory, and, with no small difficulty, managed to effect his escape along the roofs of the houses to the sea-side, where he took a boat and went on board his vessel.

This disturbance was too sudden to have been checked by the best regulated government, but it might have been remedied and punished; a deaf ear was, however, turned to the remonstrances of the captain, who was accordingly obliged to carry his complaint before the government of Bombay.

* Neibuhr's Travels, vol. ii. † Idem, p. 88. ‡ Idem.

Two vessels of war were immediately fitted out with every requisite for bombarding the city; on their arrival at Mokha a message was sent to the governor, to apprise him of their mission. The inhabitants were greatly alarmed; they abandoned the forts which they had been accustomed to consider impregnable, and would have deserted the city had not the governor prevented it. He thought proper to comply with the demands which were made on behalf of the sufferers, and sent off 4,000 dollars to the commodore of the expedition, happy to preserve the city from destruction, and to appease the wrath of the British at so cheap a rate. Even this money, however, was obtained unjustly, having been extorted from the Banian merchants.*

A.D. 1772.

A rebellion broke out in the district of Sanäa in A.D. 1772, occasioned by a scarcity of corn, and grew to such a height that several thousand men assembled, who not only plundered all provisions going to the capital, but seized several towns and villages. They obtained possession of a stronghold where there was an unfailing supply of water, and bade defiance to the forces of the Imám. At last this prince put himself at the head of his whole army, amounting to 50,000 men, with a good train of artillery, the latter under command of a Scotch renegade called Campbell, with whom were several others of various nations. The rebel fortress was besieged without success; they had plenty of provisions, which were scarce in the Imám's army, and the latter was beginning to despair, when a French renegade volunteered to construct mortars and shells with which to bombard the enemy's position. He commenced operations without considering whether the necessary materials were available, but his ingenuity was not further put to the test, for the report of his proceedings having reached the rebels, they were so panic-stricken, that they sued for mercy and returned to their allegiance.†

A.D. 1774.

The Imám El-Mehdi Abbas expired in A.D. 1774; his eldest son Abdulla having died previously, his second son, Ali, succeeded him, and assumed the title of El-Mansoor. Besides his successor, the late Imám left twenty sons.‡

A.D. 1799.

In consequence of the invasion of Egypt by the French, the English Government despatched, in A.D. 1799, a naval force from Great Britain, under the command of Admiral Blanket, to cruise in the Red Sea; and at the same time orders were sent to Bombay, directing the government of that presidency to secure and fortify the island of Perim, situated between the two points which include the Straits of Bab-el-Mandeb, to endeavour to command the channel, so as to prevent all commu-

* Irwin, p. 13. † Parsons, p. 274. ‡ Valentia, vol. ii. p. 363.

nication, on the part of the enemy, with the Indian Ocean by way of the Red Sea. Accordingly, in the month of April, a detachment of 300 European and native troops, exclusive of followers, under the command of Lieutenant Colonel Murray, who was appointed Political Commissioner for the Red Sea, proceeded to execute this service, and on the 3rd of May, the island of Perim, not being claimed by, and not being considered as justly pertaining to, any government, was formally taken possession of, on behalf of the East India Company.

From that period till the 1st of September the troops continued in possession of it, but finding, after every practicable exertion had been used, that the island yielded no fresh water, and that the straits could not be commanded by batteries on the shore, Lieutenant Colonel Murray determined to withdraw his detachment, for which he had a strong inducement in the proffered kind offices of the sultan of Aden, who offered to receive them as long as they might choose to remain in his dominions. At this port the troops landed, and were accommodated till the change of the monsoon, in the following March, in a manner exceeding their expectations, and with a cordiality never before experienced in this inhospitable part of Arabia.*

Previous to this time, the commerce between the Red Sea and the East India Company's possessions in India had been very extensive and beneficial, but, on account of the oppression of the Arab government, it had fallen into decay and almost total ruin. The coffee, which used to be taken to Europe or India in British vessels, now found its way thither through Egypt, or by the caravans from Jedda and Mecca to Constantinople; and within the last three years, a considerable quantity had been purchased by American vessels, either for consumption in their own country, or for exportation to the Mediterranean. Accordingly, Commodore Sir Home Popham, commanding H.M.S. *Rodney*, was despatched by the Court of Directors on a mission to the Red Sea, to endeavour to revive this trade, and place it on a proper and permanent footing. He was also charged to convey troops to co-operate with General Baird's army, then proceeding from Bombay to Egypt. Having fallen in with that general at sea, he accompanied him to Cosseir, and after the troops had crossed the desert to the banks of the Nile, Sir Home Popham proceeded to Calcutta.

A.D. 1801.

Previous to this, Dr. Pringle, an assistant surgeon on the Bombay establishment, who had accompanied Colonel Murray to the Red Sea, being at Mokha when General Baird arrived there on his voyage to Egypt, was deputed in the month of May to Sanäa, with letters and presents for the Imám from the

* Records of the Bombay Government.

Governor General of India, and also with the view of procuring such orders to the governors of the various ports in the Red Sea as might remove some of the impediments which had occurred, when the transports were replenishing at these ports after their first arrival. Dr. Pringle was very courteously received, and effected the object of his mission. The Imám, on his application, caused the strictest injunctions to be issued to the governors of Mokha, Hodaida, and Lohaia, to furnish English vessels with everything they might require, at the usual prices, and with the utmost possible despatch; also, to procure them pilots; and, in the event of any of the vessels being cast away or stranded, to protect the crews on shore, and to secure and restore such property as could be saved. Besides these indulgences, permission was accorded for the formation of a naval hospital at Mokha, for the reception of the sick of the squadron. After attaining these points, Dr. Pringle left the court of Sanäa and returned to Mokha.*

When at Calcutta, Sir Home Popham was regularly constituted Ambassador to the States of Arabia, and fully authorised to enter into commercial treaties with the Imám of Sanäa and the sultan of Aden.

A. D. 1802.

He returned to Mokha in the early part of 1802, and in July despatched Mr. Elliott, the secretary of the embassy, together with Lieutenant Lamb and Dr. Pringle, to Sanäa, with instructions to lay before the Imám the plan of the proposed treaty, intending himself to proceed to Jibleh or Ibb, by way of Ta'ez, that he might be nearer the capital to answer any objections which might be made by the Imám to the terms of the proposed treaty, and alter them to his highness's satisfaction.

Before Sir Home set out on his journey, he took every care to explain to the Dowla of Mokha, how the character of an ambassador ought to be esteemed, and how sacred it is held in every part of the civilised world; his motive being an anxious desire to escape insult. But he committed a vital mistake, which was the means of subjecting him to the very treatment he desired to avoid; instead of following the custom of the country, and trusting entirely to the protection of the people amongst whom he was to travel, he set out in an ostentatious manner, with a large camp and a guard of 100 Indian sepoys. This only served to arouse the apprehensions and to excite the cupidity of the ignorant and half-savage Arabs, while it was manifestly insufficient for his protection.

On his arrival at Masooreh, Sheikh Akhlán of Dorebat wrote him a letter to the effect that he had been ordered by the Imám to consider him as his

* Records of the East India House.

guest, to treat him with every respect, and escort him through his country. Sir Home was, however, treated with the greatest indignity, he was surrounded by armed men, and though he had made the Sheikh the most ample presents, he was told that he should not move from Dorebat until he had paid him 500 dollars, and given him one of his tents. The Sheikh continued the same conduct to some gentlemen of Sir Home's suite, who followed him, and, because they had not a sufficient sum to satisfy his demands, he obliged them to leave a hostage, whose throat he threatened to cut in two days if, before then, the sum he demanded was not paid. When the ambassador arrived at Ta'ez, he expected, from the promises of the dowla, that he should have experienced more friendly treatment; but apprehending, from a variety of circumstances, that this barbarous conduct would be continued all through the country, he determined to return, although he was obliged a second time to submit to the rough treatment of Sheikh Akhlán.

The ambassador was permitted by the governor of Ta'ez to make his first journey to Kerrah, where, in the night, the dowla sent an armed party, which surrounded his camp, and informed him that he could not be permitted to move until the instructions of the Imám had been received, and the sentinels threatened to shoot any one who went the least distance from the tents. The embassy was detained four days at Kerrah, and at last purchased permission to proceed on their way to Mokha. At Arásh, which was in the government of the Dowla of Mokha, Sir Home and his suite suffered still further indignities; one of the sheikhs levelled his piece at the ambassador within ten yards, and declared he would shoot him, because he had no money about him, and one of the suite had his camel seized, was struck, and had the coat torn off his back. These insults continued daily, and increased as the party approached Mokha.

Sir Home, in his protest to the wuzeer of Sanäa, observes, that he could have repelled some of these insults with his body-guard of sepoys, and probably have put to death most of the Imám's subjects who were concerned in them; but he considered it was beneath his dignity to command so contemptible an atonement, nor did he consider the destruction of Mokha, Hodaida, and Lohaia, which he could have accomplished in a few hours, with his squadron, a sufficient reparation for the insolence and contempt with which he had been treated throughout the Imám's dominions.*

Sir Home did not remain in Mokha to receive an answer to his protest, but sent a copy of it to the British officers in Sanäa, with a request that they should present it to the wuzeer, and that the secretary of legation should report

* Popham, p. 197.

to the Governor General what steps the Imám might take in the matter, and he left a vessel at Mokha to convey the intelligence to India.

Sir Home then proceeded to Calcutta, and on his way visited Aden, where he entered into a treaty of friendship and commerce with the sultan of that place.

As soon as the Imám heard of the affair from Mr. Elliott, he expressed himself extremely grieved and ashamed that such insolence should have been practised in his country, and stated his intention to cause the Sheikh of Dorebat to make ample restitution, and, moreover, asserted that he would imprison him for life in Sanäa. It does not appear whether this threat was carried into execution, but it is certain that, on a subsequent review of the whole affairs, Lord Wellesley did not think it necessary to take any further steps in the matter.

Mr. Elliott, the secretary to the embassy, died of fever at Sanäa, and Lieutenant Lamb and Dr. Pringle left that city on the 4th September, and arrived at Mokha on the 15th of the same month, bearing letters from the Imám to the Governor General and Sir Home Popham, in which he signified his rejection of the terms of the proposed treaty.*

Sir Home Popham observes that the government of Ali Mansoor had become extremely weak and feeble; from the luxury and extravagance of his court he was continually in arrears with the Bedouin Sheikhs, who inhabited the country about Sanäa, and they frequently threatened his capital, which compelled him to have recourse to the most arbitrary exactions on the different towns in his dominions, and this conduct occasioned a general discontent. Mahommed Ali Saeed, the Dowla of Ouddain, which is in the centre of the coffee districts, absolutely refused to proceed to Sanäa under the most positive orders, from the conviction that his property would be confiscated, and his person endangered, the moment he arrived there. In fact, this chief, as well as many others, had made himself virtually independent; and by the defection of these sheikhs the government had been greatly weakened.†

* Records of the East India House. † Idem.

CHAPTER XVIII.

YEMEN FROM THE WAHA'BIE INVASION TO THE PRESENT TIME.

About the middle of the eighteenth century a new sect started up in Arabia, which caused greater changes in the aspect of that country than any event which had occurred since the time of Mahommed. The founder of this sect was Abd-el-Wahâb, a native of the province of Nejd; he belonged to the pastoral tribe of Temin, and was born at El-Ayneh in 1691, and from him the sect assumed the name of Wahâbie.

A.D. 1804.

The doctrines which they adopted were severe and puritanical. They acknowledged one God, and believed that the Korán was an inspired writing; they also acknowledged Mahommed to be the Prophet of God, but deprecated any peculiar homage being paid to him, as they considered him but a mortal like themselves, though gifted with a Divine mission. These doctrines spread with amazing rapidity through the various tribes of Nejd, and the reformers soon obtained a preponderating influence in the north-east part of Arabia, while by his powerful servant Sheikh Mekrami, of Nejrán, Abd-el-Wahâb carried his victorious arms into Yemen.

On his death he was peaceably succeeded, in his temporal and spiritual power, by his son Abd-el-Azeez, during whose reign the doctrines of the new sect were received through the greater part of the peninsula.

Mecca and Medina being the two great cities of Arabia, and the objects of veneration to all professing the religion of El-Islám, the Wahábies, who aspired to the sovereignty of the whole country, were particularly anxious to secure them. Their arms were, in this instance also, crowned with success; and these two sanctuaries were added to their conquests, the former in 1803, and the latter during the following year. The treasuries were plundered, and all the holy tombs, which were an abomination to the reformers, were destroyed.

When the Hejáz had been subdued by the Northern Wahábies, those of the south were not backward in extending, by force of arms, their new faith. Towards the close of 1804, Abd-el-Hakál, chief of the Beni Aseer, surnamed Aboo-Nookta, from the fact of his having but one eye, had been at war for some time with Hamood, chief of Aboo-Areesh, who at that time governed the coast of Yemen from Konfoda, eastward, to Bait-el-Fukeeh, a country

which he had wrested from the Imám of Sanäa. Hamood, relying on his defences, and on five or six hundred cavalry in his service, had steadily refused to embrace the Wahábie faith.

Aboo-Nookta accordingly descended from the mountains with a numerous body of Arabs, and spread over the coast such a number of Wahábies that Hamood was compelled to seek refuge in flight. The weakness of the old Imám, Ali Mansoor, and the incapacity of his minister, occasioned the loss of some of his most valuable possessions, which, from want of timely support, were obliged to submit to the Aseer. Hodaida and Lohaia were taken and plundered, the revenues of Bait-el-Fukeeh were collected, and the Wahábies sent emissaries to Mokha, to say that they would be there after the Ramadán. The attack was not however made at the time appointed, and nothing but the walls of this city prevented the Wahábies from gaining absolute dominion over the sea-coast of Yemen, and with it the control over the commerce of the country. Aboo-Nookta did not remain long in the Tehâma, but retired to his mountain fastnesses, whence he kept the greater part of the coast of Yemen in check.*

A.D. 1805.

During the whole of the succeeding year, Aboo-Nookta continued to harass Yemen by rapid incursions and frequent plundering expeditions; Sanäa, however, was never made the object of his attack.

Sáood, the Wahábie chief, successor of Abd-el-Azeez, knew the jealousy prevailing between Hamood and Aboo-Nookta, and alternately promised to each of them the plunder of that rich city, which, from its feeble means of defence, could not have resisted even a slight attack, but he never actually ordered either of them to undertake it, reserving it, as was supposed, for himself.†

Lord Valentia, who visited Yemen in 1805, describes the Imám Ali Mansoor as at least seventy-eight years of age, and fast approaching his dotage. He had nine sons, of whom it was supposed that either Ahmed, the eldest, or Abdulla, the third, would succeed him. The former, whose mother was an Abyssinian slave, was rich but avaricious; he was the favourite of his father, and had great power as commander of the forces. The latter, who was of pure Arab descent, was open in manner and of a liberal disposition, which made him a general favourite. The wuzeer was attached to the party of Abdulla, though, in their father's presence, he treated both princes with equal respect. As the strength of the old man decayed, their hostilities became more open; and on one occasion they actually drew their jembeeas on each other in their father's presence, but were separated by the wuzeer.‡

* Burkhardt's Bedouins, vol. ii. p. 202. † Idem, p. 207. ‡ Valentia, vol. iii. p. 364.

Distracted by a want of concord in the internal government, and assailed by powerful enemies from without, the power of the Imám could not be otherwise than in a very precarious state. Fortunately for the reigning dynasty, the Shereef Hamood, who had been forced to join the Wahábies, was but nominally in their interest, and only awaited the first favourable opportunity to throw off the yoke.

With this view, in 1809, he entered into arrangements with Seedee Ahmed, the eldest son of the Imám, by which the latter was induced to throw aside his father's authority, and take the reins of government into his own hands; he imprisoned some of the chief men of the country, but permitted his father, now almost imbecile, to enjoy the comforts of domestic retirement. Seedee Ahmed chose Alí ibn Ismail Furrea as his wuzeer.

Shortly afterwards Shereef Hamood broke his connection with the Wahábies, and returned to his allegiance to the Imám of Sanäa, to whom he restored the sovereignty of Lohaia, Hodaida, and Bait-el-Fukeeh, upon the understanding that he was to be retained in the government of those provinces.*

This defection of the Shereef drew upon him an attack from the Wahábies; and in July 1809 Aboo-Nookta marched to subdue him. The Shereef was rash enough to meet him with only five hundred men, and was completely defeated at Jaizán.†

Undaunted by this reverse, the Shereef applied to, and received reinforcements and supplies of money from the Imám, and again took the field against Aboo-Nookta, who, descending from the mountains, encamped in the vicinity of Aboo-Areesh. Hamood sallied forth by night from that city, with forty horsemen, dressed as Wahábie Bedouins, and, taking a circuitous route, arrived, about dawn of day, in rear of the enemy, whose camp they entered without suspicion. When they arrived in front of Aboo-Nookta's tent, they shouted their war-cry, and Hamood slew the chief with his own hands; several of the principal men also fell, and the enemy were completely routed.‡

A.D. 1809.

This victory for a time gave security to Yemen, though it had the effect of throwing a greater amount of power into the hands of Hamood than should ever be entrusted to a subject.§

The change of rulers at Sanäa was not recognised at Mokha. Sultan Hassan, a slave of the late wuzeer, had, for an unusual length of time, been governor of that town, and had not only been very remiss in his returns of revenue to Sanäa, but had entertained the design of making himself independent, to which end he had exhausted large sums of money in increasing and

* Salt, p. 124. † Idem, p. 125. ‡ Burkhardt's Bedouins, vol. ii. p. 209.
§ Salt, p. 126.

strengthening the defences of the place. With such views, the deposition of his patron and the advent of a more vigorous form of government were by no means consistent; consequently, he absolutely refused, while the old Imâm should survive, to acknowledge any but his authority.*

The struggle with the Wahâbies had for a time prevented Seedee Ahmed from adopting active measures against the dowla of Mokha, but he prepared a force with which to carry his future intention into operation; and for this purpose 5,000 men were raised, under his instructions, by Ali Saäd, chief of Oudain. On the other hand, Sultan Hassan was equally alert; and, in order to augment his forces, raised 1,500 Abdali soldiers, by the permission and in the territories of the sultan of Aden. These mercenaries made up the forces of Sultan Hassan to 3,000 men, a number sufficient, in a fortified place, to make a formidable resistance to opponents who had no artillery to bring against him.†

This state of things continued till the 25th of October, when all differences were put an end to by the death of Ali Mansoor, which took place in the eighty-fifth year of his age and the thirty-fifth of his reign, on which occasion his son Ahmed came into undisputed possession of the throne, under the title of Metawakkil ala Ullah Rub-el-Aälameen. All pretext for disobedience being removed by this event, the governor of Mokha made his submission, and great rejoicings were made on account of the accession of the new sovereign. A short time after this the governor made his peace at court, and gradually dismissed his Abdali troops; and thus a rebellious commotion was terminated, which, without much mutual forbearance, must have occasioned a most serious catastrophe.‡ Sultan Hassan only survived his master's death one year. The conduct of the young Imâm on his father's death was very conciliatory; taxes were remitted, offences forgiven, and liberal largesses distributed to the poor.§

The power of the Wahâbies continued to increase until 1813, when Mahommed Ali Pasha took up arms against them, and restored the holy cities of Mecca and Medina to the nominal protection of the Porte, but virtually made himself master of the Hejáz. He resolved to put himself at the head of the troops employed in Arabia; and, having delivered over the charge of his government to his sons, Ismail and Ibrahim, he left Cairo for Suez, where he embarked for Yembo, and thence proceeded by sea to Jedda. On his arrival at that place, on the 23rd October, he was received by his son Toosoon Pasha and the Shereef Ghâlib with every mark of respect. A numerous body of his troops arrived at the same time by land from Yembo; the viceroy took up his residence in the Turkish fort, and the Shereef Ghâlib having returned to Mecca, he was followed by the viceroy some days after.

A.D. 1813.

* Salt, p. 126. † Idem, p. 127. ‡ Idem, p. 130. § Idem, p. 131.

On the 12th of November the Shereef waited on Mahommed Ali, and, when seated in his presence, a firman was delivered to him from the Sublime Porte, ordering him to repair to the presence, upon which he placed it upon his head, in token of submission, and declared his perfect resignation to the pleasure of his sovereign. He was then seized, with three of his sons, and sent to Constantinople, while an account was taken of his enormous wealth, accumulated by every species of fraud and extortion in the course of a long and tyrannical government.

The views of the viceroy were by no means limited to the reduction of the Wahâbies; his ambition contemplated nothing less than the entire subjugation of Yemen. For this purpose he despatched an envoy, named Agha Yoosoof, to the Shereef Hamood of Aboo-Areesh, to demand his co-operation against the Wahâbies. The Shereef gave an evasive answer at the time.

The envoy then proceeded to Sanäa, and was received with such marked distinction and respect as sufficiently showed that the Imám was not without his apprehensions of Mahommed Ali's views in that quarter. He expressed his perfect readiness to comply with the requisition, and to contribute his share towards the reduction of the common enemy, but, being totally unprovided with the means, he despatched the envoy to Mokha, with an order to Fukeh Sáleh, the dowla, to comply with all his demands, and to furnish him with such a number of vessels as the viceroy appeared to be in want of, for the conveyance of his troops and supplies from Suez to Jedda. When the Imám issued this order he must have been aware that compliance with it was a matter of absolute impossibility, the dowla not having a single vessel of any description at his command, and being equally destitute of the necessary funds for providing them elsewhere.

On the Agha's arrival at Mokha, however, Fukeh Sáleh issued an order for the detention of all the dows and other small crafts in the roads, and endeavoured, partly by promises and partly by threats, to prevail upon the nacodas to proceed to Jedda, for the performance of the viceroy's service, and the Agha refused to leave Mokha until he received categorical answers to his demands. Such was the ostensible object of the mission, but there is every reason to believe that the real object was to sound the disposition of the various chieftains, and to obtain information regarding the state of the country, which he must have discovered to be without the slightest means of defence, with exhausted finances, groaning under an oppressive and arbitrary government, and ready to fall an easy prey to the first invader.*

* Records of East India House.

In the following year Mahommed Ali sent a naval armament with 1,500 soldiers, and numerous transports with provisions, under the command of Hoossain Agha and Zain Ogloo, to take the city of Konfoda, which for five years had been in the hands of Sheikh Támi, chief of the Beni Aseer and successor to Aboo-Nookta. The town was taken, not, however, without a brave resistance and a great expenditure of life. The victory of the Turks was short; it occurred in March, and early in May they were surprised by a body of from eight to ten thousand Aseer, under the personal command of Támi; the garrison was speedily routed, and the panic-struck commander, with most of his followers, fled for refuge to the shipping in the harbour. The invaders put all that came in their way to the sword; and such was their eagerness in their pursuit that they swam after the fugitives, and actually killed many of them in the water close to the guns of their vessels.

A.D. 1814.

The Turkish commander was no sooner safe on board his vessel than he ordered the sails to be hoisted, and abandoned to certain death all who had not already got on board. The Wahábies had never found such a rich booty as rewarded them at Konfoda. The whole of the Turkish baggage, munitions of war and guns, fell into their hands, few of the Turks carrying away more than they wore, but the most valuable part of the plunder was four hundred horses, and a considerable number of camels.*

Támi was subsequently defeated by Mahommed Ali at Tor, a castle of great strength, which had been built by Aboo-Nookta.†

A.D. 1815.

Mahommed Ali appears to have been desirous of marching upon Yemen from the less mountainous country at the western foot of the Aseer mountains. Shereef Hamood (surnamed Aboo-Mesmár) was in the possession of the sea-coast; he had formerly been of the Wahábie party after many contests with them, but when the Turks arrived in the Hejáz he sent an envoy to the Pasha with rich presents, assuring him of his readiness to support the Turkish interests. The frequent defeats of the Turks at the outset of the campaign, however, caused his zeal to abate, and he opened communication with Támi, and made preparations for war. There is little doubt that he intended joining the Wahábies, in the event of their repulsing the Turks.‡

The Pasha had long wished to revel in the far-famed wealth of Yemen, and it was reported that, in case of success against the Wahábies, he had resolved to attack Hamood. For this purpose he opened a communication a second time with the Imám of Sanäa, who had sent presents to him, and who was

* Burkhardt's Bedouins, vol. ii. p. 277. † Idem, p. 329. ‡ Idem, p. 330.

cordially interested in the success of his enterprise, as it would have released him from two dangerous neighbours, the Wahábies and Hamood. The Turkish army, however, having undergone a long, arduous, and fatiguing campaign, showed symptoms of dissatisfaction, and openly declared their determination to return to Mecca. Instead, therefore, of marching northward, the viceroy proceeded to Konfoda, which surrendered without resistance; thence he marched to Mecca, and for a time abandoned his designs on Yemen.*

Támi, after his defeat at Tor, took refuge in the neighbourhood of Aboo-Areesh, in the house of one of the Shereefs, a relation of Hamood. The latter thought this a favourable opportunity of warding off hostile operations against himself, and of evincing his submission to the Porte. He accordingly put Támi in chains, and delivered him to Mahommed Ali, who sent him to Constantinople, where he was instantly beheaded. The viceroy shortly afterwards proceeded to Egypt.†

On the arrival of Mahommed Ali in Cairo, Ibrahim Pasha was appointed to command the army of Arabia, and proceeded thither with large reinforcements. The campaign which followed resulted in the almost absolute downfall of the Wahábie power, the conquest of Deria, and the capture of Abdulla ibn Sáood, the Wahábie chief. It was characterised by a series of the most barbarous cruelties, committed in violation of the faith of the most solemn promises, on some occasions with the object of enriching the leader by the plunder of the very tribes which had contributed to his successes, and in others to obtain possession of the wealth of his vanquished enemies, or to gratify the insatiable desire to shed human blood, which was a marked characteristic of Ibrahim Pasha. On the 16th of November 1819, Ibrahim embarked for Cosseir from Jedda, to the ill-concealed joy of the residents of the Hejáz, who had suffered terribly under his tyrannical government.‡

At the time that the siege of Deria was protracted, Ibrahim Pasha had sent to Egypt for further reinforcements. These, to the number of 2,500 men, were sent over under the command of Khaleel Pasha, but they did not arrive until Deria had fallen, and were not then required. But as they had been sent across the Red Sea at considerable expense, Mahommed Ali determined to employ them against the Arabs of Aboo-Areesh, who had subverted the government of the Tehâma and of part of the other provinces of Yemen. Konfoda, Lohaia, and several other towns on the coast, fell into the hands of the Turks: they obtained possession of many places in the interior; and Mahommed, a great leader of the Yemen Wahábies, was made prisoner and sent in chains to Jedda, and thence to Cairo.

* Burkhardt's Bedouins, vol. ii. p. 381. † Idem, p. 382.

‡ Records of East India House.

The Wahábie party in Yemen being reduced, Mahommed Ali entered into a negotiation with the Imám of Sanäa, who was only too glad to accede to a proposal, which should have the effect of restoring to his sway a territory which he himself could not have reclaimed, and which for many years had been in a state of insurrection. The terms included the restoration of all places in the interior which had belonged of right to the former Imáms. The Turks were to evacuate Konfoda, Lohaia, and the other seaports which they had blockaded, and to desist from all further hostilities. The Imám agreed to pay to the viceroy one lac of dollars of annual tribute, in consideration of having a whole province restored to him, which had not for many years paid him any revenue.

The Imám was well pleased with this arrangement, as he was under serious apprehensions of the views of the Turks, whose approach seemed to threaten his independence, and who were nearly as obnoxious to him as the Wahábies.*

El-Metawakkil Ahmed ibn Ali died at Sanäa in 1817, and was succeeded by his son El-Mehdi Abdulla. The reign of this prince was much disturbed by intestine feuds; not only did he fail to retain the provinces which had been wrested from his father by the Shereef of Aboo-Areesh, and which had been restored to him by the viceroy of Egypt, but a large portion of his dominions, including Ta'ez, Jibleh, and Esh-Shimleh were seized by the Dthoo Mahommed and Dthoo Hoosain tribes. Mokha, however, still remained in his possession.

A.D. 1817.

In the month of July 1817 a dispute arose between Lieutenant Dommicetti, of the Bombay Marine, commanding the *Prince of Wales* cruiser, and the nacoda of a vessel under charter to the East India Company, which resulted in an Arab being detained for a short time at the British factory.

This man was released on a requisition from the governor; but no sooner had he left the building, than the yard and the factory were filled with three or four hundred soldiers, who rushed upon the small guard of Indian sepoys, dragged them into the street, and beat and bruised them in a most inhuman manner; they also seized the captain of a merchant vessel then at the factory, and subjected him to a like ignominious treatment.

Lieutenant Dommicetti was at this time confined to bed with a severe fever; he was there attacked by the soldiery, who abused him in the most shameful manner, beat him with clubs and sticks until he was nearly insensible, and finally dragged him, naked, and quite overpowered with the treatment he had received, to the governor's house. Here every species of insult and contumely which could be devised was heaped upon him, his shirt and head were quite

* Records of East India House.

wet with these savages spitting upon him; he was saluted with every term of abuse which the Arabic language could supply, and he was eventually imprisoned, while the residency was ransacked and pillaged.*

Considerable delay attended the investigation of these charges against the governor of Mokha, and it was not till the end of November 1819 that the ultimatum of the Government of Bombay was sent to the Imám. This required that his Highness should inflict a suitable punishment on the late dowla of Mokha (for he had been dismissed from office) in presence of the Company's broker; that pecuniary satisfaction should be made for the degradations committed within the residency, and that several British seamen who had deserted should be given up.

A.D. 1819.

The Governor General of India, while he regretted that steps had not been taken at an earlier period to obtain reparation, authorised a sufficient squadron to be sent to Mokha to enforce the demands of the Bombay Government, and directed that, in addition to the demand for the punishment of the dowla, and an indemnity for losses sustained, means should be adopted to secure a proper amount of respect to the British resident for the future, and a clear understanding of the terms on which the factory was to continue; for this purpose, the following terms were to be obtained from the Imám, and embodied in a treaty:—

First.—That the resident should have a guard of the same strength as at Bussora and Baghdad, to secure his respectability.

Secondly.—That all servants of the factory should enjoy British protection, and be amenable only to the jurisdiction of the resident.

Thirdly.—That all Indian merchants should be under the protection of the British flag, and all differences amongst themselves be settled by the resident, or, in the event of any of the Imám's subjects being concerned in the disputes, by an agent on the part of the local government and the resident conjointly.

Fourthly.—That the resident should be exempt from all degrading compliances, that he should have liberty to ride on horseback when and wherever he pleased, and have free ingress and egress at all the gates of Mokha; amongst others, that of Sheikh Shâduli, from which Europeans had been excluded for some years past, on account of the pretended sanctity it derived from the tomb of that saint being in an adjoining mosque.

Fifthly.—That the rate of export duty on British trade be reduced from 3½ to 2¼ per cent., which was the same as the French had paid since they bombarded Mokha, about a century previously.

* Records of East India House.

Sixthly.—A piece of ground to be allotted for a cemetery, and no British subject to be insulted on account of his religion.

Seventhly.—The British resident to have free permission to proceed to Sanäa, to communicate with the Imám, whenever he might deem it necessary; the dowla of Mokha, on those occasions, furnishing an escort.*

A.D. 1820.

Captain Bruce, the resident at Bushire, was appointed agent for the Government of Bombay in conducting these negotiations, and he sailed for Mokha on the 23rd of August 1820. He was supported by a powerful squadron of vessels of His Majesty's and the Indian Navy, under the command of Captain Lumley, of H. M. S. *Topaz*. On his arrival at Mokha, Captain Bruce made known the subject of his demands, but declined to land until an officer had arrived from Sanäa to make the required apology. From the intercourse which passed between Captain Bruce and the dowla's people, every expectation was entertained of a favourable result. A letter was addressed by the dowla to the Imám, enclosing that which had been sent from Bombay, and expressing a hope that the demands of that Government, the justice of which was acknowledged, would be complied with.

The authorities at Mokha, notwithstanding their professions, were mounting guns on the different towers, and the militia was ordered in from the adjoining villages. At the request of the dowla, Captain Bruce allowed a few days more than he had at first fixed for the answer from Sanäa, by which also he afforded time for the arrival of the expedition. On the 24th October Captain Bruce received the Imám's reply, conveying friendly assurances, and stating that a person would be sent to communicate with him, and requesting that he would land at Mokha. Private letters from Sanäa stated that the Imám was highly displeased with his minister for having allowed matters to proceed to so great a length.

On the arrival of the Imám's deputy, Fukeh Hoosain, and on his assurance that all demands would be acceded to, Captain Bruce proceeded on shore, accompanied by the dowla's brother and a party of merchants. The result proved entirely unsatisfactory. Fukeh Hoosain said he had no authority to bring Haji Futteh, the offending governor, to Mokha, but that he was authorised to accompany Captain Bruce to Sanäa, where the dowla would be brought. Captain Bruce replied that, until the apology had been made at the British residency, he could not proceed to Sanäa, and as, after protracted discussions, it was evident that they were only attempting to evade the demand, he determined to proceed on board ship; acquainting the local autho-

* Records of East India House.

rities that they were aware of his determination, and that he would not land again till the dowla was forthcoming.

Captain Bruce warned all the vessels in the roads that the port was blockaded, and that if any of them remained, on the arrival of the squadron they would be destroyed. The force arrived on the 2nd December; and Captain Lumley, on being informed of Captain Bruce's proceedings, immediately resolved on bombarding the place. A previous message had been received from the dowla, requesting a further reference to Sanäa, which was refused. In the course of the day a flag of truce came off with a message to the effect that, if hostile operations were delayed for eighteen days, our demands would either be complied with or the place would be evacuated. An hour and a half was allowed to send off hostages, who should remain on board for three days, to allow time for the production and punishment of Haji Futteh. No reply having been received within the time specified, the vessels were ordered to open fire.*

The operations commenced by a general cannonading and bombardment, after which, as the north fort appeared to be abandoned, although no practicable breach had been made, boats were sent to take possession of and destroy it. The assaulting party consisted of artillery and marines, and all the seamen who could be spared. As these landed, it was discovered that the fort was not abandoned; the defenders rushed down to the beach, and were bravely beaten back; but ere the assaulting party could reach the fort, the gate was shut, and, being in a very narrow passage, it could not be burst open by the guns brought for that purpose.

The defenders bravely contested the ground, and, when driven in, threw down 32-pounder shot and quicklime on the heads of the assailants; while their fire proved even more destructive. After fifteen minutes' painful suspense, the retreat was reluctantly ordered, and with difficulty effected, many having to swim to the boats, which were found to be riddled through and through with bullet-holes. The storming party sustained a considerable loss in killed and wounded, four officers being amongst the former.†

On the following morning another flag of truce was received, which was followed by two hostages, who conveyed an assurance from the dowla that in fourteen days the demands should be complied with. At the expiration of this time a deputation of merchants came on board, praying for its prolongation, in consequence of the approach of the Bedouins, who, they expected, would enter and plunder Mokha in the confusion. Two of the deputation engaged to go to Zebeed, and bring in Haji Futteh to be disgraced, if his life would be

* Records of East India House. † Idem; Straith's Treatise on Fortification, p. 166.

spared. Two additional days were therefore granted, on condition that, before the day when the original truce should expire, a notification should be received that Haji Futteh was on the road.

The unsuccessful result of the attack on the north fort had led the dowla and his people to suppose that they were impregnable, and they accordingly delayed their submission. The truce of fourteen days had, by one means or another, extended to twenty, which, however, allowed time for all the property belonging to British merchants being embarked.*

On the 26th December the second attack was made, with better success, upwards of four thousand 18, 24, and 32-pounder shot had been vainly expended in endeavouring to effect a breach in the sun-dried brick walls, which constituted the defences; the shot either passed through, or buried themselves in the mud, without cracking the walls. Mining was out of the question; and all hope of effecting a breach, by the ordinary methods, failed. It was then proposed by Lieutenant William Jacob, of the Bombay Artillery, to effect a breach by firing loaded shells at point-blank against the walls, from the shipping hauled as near shore as possible.†

In less than four hours, an excellent practicable breach was formed, and by 2 P. M. the fort was taken possession of, the guns were spiked, and the barracks burnt. These decisive measures produced the desired effect. Ameer Fudthel-Ullah, who had superseded the Dowla Fukee Hoosain, came on board early in the morning and produced his powers, and having afforded Captain Bruce the strongest assurances of a full admission of all demands, that officer landed on the 4th, and rode to the house of Fudthel-Ullah, who received him in the politest manner.

The late dowla, Fukee Hoosain, was present, but placed on a seat at some distance from the Ameer. In the evening he was put into close confinement, with a guard over him, and his property seized and confiscated, by an express order from the Imám, for having transmitted false accounts of the real state of affairs. In the evening the Ameer returned Captain Bruce's visit, an extraordinary proof of condescension, as no instance existed of a dowla having ever returned a resident's visit.‡

A day having been fixed for Haji Futteh's affording public atonement for the indignities he had committed, Ameer Fudthel-Ullah, accompanied by a number of other functionaries and the principal merchants, brought the offender to Captain Bruce's house, on Saturday the 6th of January, where Captain Lumley and a large party of gentlemen from the squadron were assembled. The Ameer, leading Haji

A.D. 1821.

* Records of East India House. † Straith, p. 167. ‡ Records of East India House.

Futteh by the hand, formally announced to Captain Bruce that he had brought him by the Imám's order to be delivered up for punishment, in any way that he thought proper; that his highness was very sorry for what had occurred, which had been entirely without his authority. He trusted, therefore, that this public acknowledgment would be considered a sufficient atonement. He then delivered Haji Futteh into Captain Bruce's hands. That officer replied that sufficient reparation had been offered, and Haji Futteh was freely forgiven.

On the following day Captain Lumley, Captain Bruce, and two officers, accompanied by another officer on the part of the dowla, rode through the Shaduli gate, after which the dowla issued a proclamation, which was repeated for three successive days, announcing that no one was to presume to offer molestation or insult to any person belonging to the English, in the streets or the different gates of the town, which were to be at their free use, whenever they pleased, the same as to themselves, and that any one transgressing this proclamation would be severely punished.

On the 14th, Ameer Fudthel-Ullah delivered to Captain Bruce a firman which had been issued by the Imám, reducing the duties to 2¼ per cent.; and in the course of the next day, copies of the treaty which had been sent to Sanäa were returned, duly signed and sealed by the Imám and the members of his council.* All the demands of Government were now amply fulfilled; and the British factory was placed on that honorable footing on which alone it ought to have been maintained.

Lieutenant Robson, of the H. E. I. Co.'s Marine, was left in charge of affairs with a guard of thirty sepoys.†

Thus, through the entire success of this expedition, the national character was honorably redeemed from that stain, which the natives of Arabia admitted it had received, and were surprised we had so long tolerated; and important advantages were obtained and secured by treaty.

This treaty had not been long concluded, when a disposition appeared on the part of the Imám to evade its provisions. The first instance occurred in considering whether Indian merchants, trading to Mokha under the protection of the British flag, shared equally with the English merchants in the benefit of the reduction of duty to 2¼ per cent. As, however, the terms of the treaty were ambiguous, and afforded good ground for disputing the right to insist on this privilege, the point was waived. Early in the following year it was observed that another and much more serious oversight occurred in the treaty, namely, that the stipulation which provided that the dependents of the factory should be entirely under British protection and control, was omitted in the

* Bombay Book of Treaties, p. 672.

† Records of East India House.

Arabic counterpart. This circumstance was made known to the Imám, but he declined to rectify it. He was accordingly informed that Government had given up the other point in which the Arabic version of the treaty differed from the English, and had agreed to pay a rate of customs which they had not intended to consent to when the treaty was framed; but as his highness declined to amend the document, on a point which could not possibly be abandoned, it was necessary that he should understand beforehand, that if attempts were made to seize or punish any person, of whatever nation, who might be in the resident's exclusive employ, the latter was immediately to withdraw the residency from Mokha, pending such steps as the Government of India might deem it necessary to pursue.*

El Mehdi Abdulla was visited in 1823 by Assistant Surgeon Robert Finlay, of the Bombay Service, who describes him as then about twenty-eight years of age, above the ordinary size of Arabs, but of a slender form and dark complexion, nearly resembling that of an African. He had about twenty brothers, but only one, Seedee Mahommed, by the same mother, and he alone was admitted to any share in the administration of government. The Imám's deportment was the reverse of dignified or commanding; he was extremely passionate, and was constantly in the habit of disgracing and changing his ministers.

A.D. 1823.

The public reception-room of the Imám was covered with Persian carpets, and silken pillows were arranged round the sides: at one end stood the throne, which was raised two feet from the floor, and covered with crimson velvet and cushions of rich cloth of gold. His private apartments were furnished with less taste, and were crowded with the most heterogeneous articles, such as horse-trappings, arms, organs, time-pieces, common empty bottles, bales of cotton goods, silks, and woollen stuffs. His Highness, as well as the officers of his court, were richly dressed, and exhibited a considerable amount of state and magnificence on all public occasions.

The government was exceedingly weak, and the Imám was obliged to subsidise the neighbouring chiefs, in order to prevent them plundering his country. The amount thus expended amounted to about a lac of dollars annually; but the independent Sheikhs were year by year increasing in strength, and raising their demands in proportion to their ability to enforce them.†

Whilst the struggle between the Porte and the viceroy of Egypt was going on, and the forces of Ibrahim Pasha were preparing for the conquest of Syria, events adverse to the stability of the Egyptian government in Arabia were taking place.

A.D. 1832.

* Records of East India House.

† Records of Bombay Government.

The army of Mahommed Ali at Mecca consisted of two divisions, one of which was commanded by Zenár Agha, between whom and Khourshid Bey, Egyptian governor of the Hejáz, a dispute arose. The former complained of having been defrauded in some money transactions, and induced three other officers, commanders of four hundred irregular cavalry, who had each similar grievances, to join his standard, and renounce their allegiance to the Egyptian government.

Mahommed Agha, surnamed Turkchee Bilmas,* the most courageous of these officers, instigated the others to advance towards Mecca, to support Zenár Agha. A conference took place; and it was agreed, through the mediation of the Shereef of Mecca, that the rebel officers should return to Jedda, and that a meeting should be held to inquire into their complaints. The governor, Khourshid Bey, attended this meeting, and was taken prisoner, whereupon, assisted by the Kadi, the rebels created a revolution, and appointed Turkchee Bilmas governor of the Hejáz.

Turkchee Bilmas then marched upon Mecca, and, on his arrival there, gave orders that Khourshid Bey should be sent on board a vessel bound for Egypt. Notwithstanding that the inhabitants of Mecca had declared for the rebels, the Egyptian garrison of that city, under Ismail Bey, succeeded in repulsing them, and they were compelled to retire in disorder to Jedda. On his arrival there, Turkchee Bilmas endeavoured to repair his losses, and contemplated attacking Ismail Bey in his entrenched camp. He took possession of such of the viceroy's vessels as were in the port, taxed the town, and plundered the arsenal and treasury. He discharged the arrears of pay due to the troops, and, by presents of money and arms, induced several Arab chiefs to join him.

As soon as the Porte became aware of this revolution, the sultan sent a firman to Turkchee Bilmas, confirming him in the government of the Hejáz, and he was even promised assistance, to enable him to contend against the forces of Mahommed Ali. At the same time the government of Egypt sent strong reinforcements to Arabia, under Ahmed Pasha, who had formerly governed the Hejáz, to regain possession of that valuable province.

No sooner did Turkchee Bilmas hear of the arrival of Ahmed Pasha at Yembo, than he embarked his infantry under Zenár Agha, on board six of the captured vessels, and despatched them to attack the seaports of Yemen, while he himself, with his cavalry, marched thither by land. He encamped in a plain in front of Konfoda, but the inhabitants refused to open their gates to him.

After these events Ali ibn Meyethel, chief of the Beni Aseer, besieged

* The surname *Turkchee Bilmas* signifies 'one who cannot speak Turkish'; he had been a Memlook of Mustapha Bey, brother-in-law of Mahommed Ali, viceroy of Egypt, and commanded a body of four hundred irregular cavalry. He is still alive, and is, or very lately was, commander of the troops at Baghdad.

Aboo-Areesh, a town not far from Konfoda, which was garrisoned by a battalion of Egyptian troops. The Sheikh was at first repulsed with loss, but subsequently the garrison capitulated, and returned to Konfoda.

Turkchee Bilmas, when he saw that there was no hope of making good his entry into Konfoda, reinforced as it was by the garrison of Aboo-Areesh, marched upon Hodaida, and encamped about two leagues from the city, while his squadron blockaded the port. He asked the governor, who held the town under the Imám of Sanäa, for permission to obtain provisions and water, and received a formal refusal. He then directed the fire of two guns against the city, which intimidated the garrison, and induced it to capitulate, upon which the town was taken possession of by the Turks. This event took place on the 25th September 1832.*

Having left a garrison of four hundred men in Hodaida, under the command of Agha Moorshid, Turkchee Bilmas proceeded with the remainder of his force to Zebeed. Seyed Abdulla Doraib, governor of Mokha, who happened to be at Zebeed, conducted the defence of the city for thirteen days; but, on the 21st October, Turkchee Bilmas succeeded in obtaining possession of it by stratagem, when he seized Seyed Abdulla Doraib, and sent him prisoner to Hodaida, where in a few days he was murdered.

The victorious rebel then proceeded towards Mokha, which, through the treachery of Seyed Mahommed-el-Bár, the leader of the Bedouin troops, he succeeded in reducing by the same means as had gained him Hodaida. These two points gained, all the sea-coast of Yemen fell into his hands, and under the nominal suzerainty of the Porte.†

While at Mokha, Turkchee Bilmas seized the Indian vessels which were in the habit of touching there before proceeding up the Red Sea; he forced them to land their cargoes, which he deposited in storehouses, and sent the ships back again to India. His excuse for this proceeding was, that he feared, should they reach the port of their destination, Ahmed Pasha would make use of them as transports for troops, wherewith to attack him.

An extraordinary meteoric shower, which took place at Mokha on the 13th of November, and lasted all night, caused great alarm to the inhabitants, and was considered by Turkchee Bilmas and his followers as an omen of evil; and by a curious coincidence their forebodings were realised, and from this date the star of this daring rebel seemed to set.†

* Records of Bombay Government; Mengin, pp. 34—40. † Records of Bombay Government. ‡ This meteoric shower has been described to the author by an eye-witness, Captain Webb, agent of an American commercial establishment then at Mokha. He described the meteors as falling almost as thickly as drops of rain, and they continued to do so until daylight rendered them invisible.

Early in the following year he wrote to the Sultan of Aden, to demand the surrender of that fortress. The latter promised compliance, whereupon a mission consisting of forty persons was sent thither to arrange for its occupation. They landed on the 17th of February 1833, and were well received; but, on the first night after their arrival, they were treacherously attacked by order of the sultan, twenty-seven of their number were assassinated, and the remainder effected their escape to Mokha with the loss of their baggage.*

A.D. 1833.

On the 16th March Turkchee Bilmas embarked all his forces, as well as the provisions, warlike stores, &c., which he could find at Mokha, on board his fleet, which consisted of four ships and five buggalows; and having left a garrison of four hundred men at Mokha, commanded by Mahommed Agha, he proceeded on the 22nd up the Red Sea. Previous to his departure he issued a proclamation, prohibiting all vessels from proceeding from Mokha to Jedda, until he should think proper to permit them to do so. The object of this movement on the part of Turkchee Bilmas was to effect a junction with the Aseeri force under Ali ibn Meyethel, who had promised to join him; but, at the last moment, the latter abandoned him, and he was forced to return to Mokha.†

The Imám of Sanäa was unable to expel the Turks from Mokha, and rejoiced at the intelligence that Ahmed Pasha, with an army of 15,000 men, was proceeding to do so; the latter, however, was detained a long time, from the impossibility of procuring transports; eventually he succeeded in purchasing four ships, in which he embarked his troops. He first proceeded to the island of Masowah, which he took and garrisoned, and then made his preparations for attacking Turkchee Bilmas. When the news of this expedition reached Yemen, Ali ibn Meyethel, chief of the Aseeri, levied a force of 20,000 Arabs, and marched against Turkchee Bilmas, who had by this time lost all his conquests with the exception of Mokha, and here he entrenched himself with five hundred men.‡

Mokha was blockaded on all sides by the viceroy's squadron which had just arrived before the city, and the Aseeri were at the same time advancing by land. The Turks had no longer any hope of escape: Ali ibn Meyethel proposed that they should surrender unconditionally; and on this being refused, he attacked the town and carried it by assault.§ The Turks endeavoured to escape by sea, and found a number of undecked boats, in which, although they leaked in many places, and were unprovided with sails or oars, they attempted to reach the English ships anchored in the bay. The wind was foul, and they could

* Records of Aden Residency.

† Records of East India House.

‡ Mengin, p. 64.

§ Idem.

not do so, and they were on the point of sinking, when boats were sent to their assistance, and 150 of them were saved, amongst whom was Turkchee Bilmas. He was received on board the Honorable Company's sloop of war *Tigris*, and taken to Bombay.*

For the space of three days Mokha was given up to plunder, during which time the Bedouins, unrestrained in their rapacity, committed the greatest excesses, despoiling the inhabitants of every article of the slightest value, and murdering all those who would not, or could not, direct them to the places where they supposed the merchants had concealed their wealth. The person and property of the British agent (a Borah, named Sheikh Teyeb Ibramjee) were respected, and all who fled for refuge to his house escaped with their lives and property. Many Indian merchants, failing to avail themselves of this protection, were plundered of all they possessed, and several were killed.†

The Aseeri were anxious to retain for themselves the conquest which they had made, but they were forced to surrender all their acquisitions to the Egyptian army under Ibrahim Pasha, brother of Ahmed, and nephew of the viceroy.

The Imám-el-Mehdi Abdulla ibn Ahmed, died in 1834, and was succeeded by his son Ali, under the title of El-Mansoor.

A.D. 1834.

Sanäa was visited in 1836 by Mr. Cruttenden, I.N., and Assistant Surgeon Hurton, both attached to the *Palinurus*, then engaged in surveying the coast of Arabia. They left Mokha on the 13th July, and took the road by Zebeed and Bait-el-Fukeeh. During the whole of their journey they met with neither molestation nor annoyance, and on their arrival were hospitably received and entertained by the Imám, who appropriated for their use one of his garden-houses in the suburb of Bir-el-Asáb.

A.D. 1836.

Ali Mansoor was then a young man of twenty-four years of age, inheriting from his mother, who was an Abyssinian, a dark complexion, while a cast in his eye gave his countenance a sinister expression. During the first interview the travellers had with the Imám, he was dressed in a crimson silk robe; on his head he wore a white turban, wound round a cap of cloth of gold, and in his girdle was a dagger studded with gems. His uncle, Seedee Mahommed, styled Saif-el-Khulifa, wore a superb dress of flowered silk and a white camoleen, with bands of gold thread.

The court of Sanäa appeared in a most debased condition; drunkenness was the prevailing vice amongst the higher orders, and in two private

* Mengin, p. 64; Records of East India House. † Bombay Gazette, 22nd February 1834.

audiences which the travellers had with the Imám, the latter got exceedingly drunk, as did his attendant dancing-girls.

For four years previous to this visit no rain had fallen, and the unusual drought had caused a famine throughout the country. Whenever the travellers left their house, they were assailed by a mob of famished wretches, while the corpses of men, women, and children lay about the streets, no one taking the trouble to bury them; at least a hundred and fifty funerals passed through the gates every day, of which not less than thirty were of the unfortunate victims of starvation.*

The Imám was at variance with the powerful tribes of Dthoo-Mahommed and Dthoo-Hoosain, and his conduct in endeavouring to seize his uncle, Seedee Kássim, which resulted in the loss of Ta'ez, widened the breach.

In 1837 Seedee Kássim treacherously sold the city of Ta'ez to the Egyp-

A.D. 1837.

tians. He arrived at Mokha on the 4th of June 1837, from Ta'ez, with a body of Arab soldiers, numbering two hundred, headed by Ibn Dumári, dowla of that city. On the 7th June Ibrahim Pasha came to Mokha from Hodaida. Between him and Seedee Kássim an arrangement was concluded, to the effect that the latter should reside at Mokha, and receive a monthly stipend of 300 dollars; that all the troops then at Ta'ez should evacuate the place, and that the sum of 9,000 dollars should be paid to Ibn Dumári, who was to leave seven of his men as hostages in the hands of Ibrahim Pasha, until the Egyptian troops occupied the city.

The reasons which induced Seedee Kássim to take this step were partly avarice, and partly revenge for the treatment he had received at the hands of his nephew. The latter, under the impression that a conspiracy was being formed against him, caused his uncle Kássim to be seized and confined in the state prison; he, however, escaped, and took refuge at Ta'ez, where he assumed the title of El-Hádi, and numbers of discontented flocked to his standard. Not being very confident in his own strength, and fearing he might not be able to maintain his position for any length of time, he made overtures to the Egyptians, as above narrated.

To take possession of Ta'ez, Ibrahim Pasha sent, on the 19th of June, a force consisting of one thousand men, and one piece of ordnance, under the command of Mustapha Bey, with two officers under him, named Khair-Ullah Agha and Othman, also a hundred and fifty Arabs, under Seyed Mahommed El-Bar. Ibn Dumári accompanied this force with his troops, leaving eleven men with Ibrahim Pasha, as hostages. They took possession of the city

* Cruttenden.

without opposition, but they were not long left undisturbed. The Dthoo-Mahommed still held Khandra, in the same district, and frequent attacks upon Ta'ez were there organised, but always with defeat and considerable loss to the Arabs, who were, eventually, entirely subdued. The money, wherewith to pay the treachery of Seedee Kássim and Ibn Dumári, was borrowed from the merchants of Mokha, as the finances of Ibrahim Pasha were at a very low ebb.*

Shortly after this, Ali Mansoor was deprived of his throne by Abdulla ibn Mahommed ibn Kássim ibn El-Mehdi Abbas, who proclaimed himself Imám, under the title of En-Násr, and imprisoned his predecessor, together with his uncle, Seedee Mahommed Saif El-Khulifa.

In November Mahommed Ali Pasha sent an embassy to the new Imám to treat for the cession of Sanäa; he received it with great distinction, but steadily refused to accede to the proposals of the viceroy.†

The dethroned prince and his uncle remained in confinement for nearly four years, when the usurper was killed in his country house at Wadi Dtháhir, by his own servants, whereupon the people of Sanäa released Ali Mansoor and his uncle Seedee Mahommed, and raised the latter to the throne, under the appellation of El-Hádi. The ex-Imám, Ali, had a liberal allowance made to him, but was not permitted to interfere in affairs of state. He is still living in the vicinity of Sanäa.‡

A.D. 1840.

In the early part of 1840 the Egyptian troops evacuated Yemen, which event threw the country into a state of the utmost confusion. The court of Sanäa had become perfectly effete, and was totally unable to unite, and consolidate into one kingdom, the provinces which had formerly been under its sway; as a natural consequence, each petty sheikh endeavoured to secure his own independence, and refused to acknowledge any superior.

Ibrahim Pasha desired, and even agreed, to deliver up the Tehâma to Mahommed ibn Own, Shereef of Mecca, but Hoosain ibn Ali ibn Hyder, Shereef of Aboo Areesh, determined to dispute the possession of this province with him. He succeeded in obtaining the co-operation of the Beni Aseer, which tribe, with an army of 20,000 men, took the field in his behalf. Shereef Hoosain at once despatched his brother, Aboo Táleb, with a force of 3,000 men, to the vicinity of Hodaida, which town he took possession of on the 22nd of April, the very day that Ibrahim Pasha evacuated it. In May the

* Records of the East India House.

† The capture of Aden by the British, which occurred on the 18th January in this year [1839], is narrated in a subsequent chapter.

‡ The authority for the events detailed in this chapter, subsequent to 1840, is either contained in the Records of the Aden Residency, or they are personally known to the author.

Aseeri occupied Hodaida; secured the merchants, until they paid a forced levy of 120,000 dollars; and issued an edict forbidding any Christian from riding on horseback, or passing through the Mecca gate.

In the following month Shereef Hoosain assumed the government of Mokha, and agreed to pay to the Pasha of Egypt an annual tribute of 90,000 dollars. As soon as an intimation of this event reached Aden, Lieutenant Gordon, I.N., was despatched thither, in the Honorable Company's steam-frigate *Zenobia*, to protect British subjects, and to ascertain the feeling of that chief towards the English. The treatment which he received was in the highest degree insulting; he was styled a Káfir (*infidel*), and told to confine himself to his own duties, and not to interfere with 'true believers.' Shortly after his accession, the Shereef ordered the British vice-consul to haul down his flag, exacted a contribution of 6,000 dollars from the merchants of the city, and raised the duties on all goods imported or exported by British subjects from 2¼ to 9 per cent. Shortly afterwards, the British flag, which had been hoisted on the house of the consular agent, Abd-er-Rasool, during his temporary absence, by an officer of the Indian Navy, was ordered to be cut down; the property of the agent was confiscated, and that officer was obliged to seek refuge in Aden.

The Shereef then addressed a most insulting letter, direct to the Government of Bombay, requiring the immediate surrender of Aden, and threatening, in the event of his demand not being complied with, to obtain the assistance of the Aseeri, to assist him in enforcing it.

In October of the same year a fanatic, named Fukee Saeed, endeavoured to subvert the government of the Imám. In order to rouse the enthusiasm of his adherents, he assumed the name of *Mehdi-el-Montether*, or 'regenerator of the faith,' and declared that he had a divine mission to purify the faith of Mahommed, to abolish taxation throughout Yemen, and to drive the infidel from Aden; and he promised, to all who should join him in this task, complete invulnerability against sword and gunshot wounds.

Fukee Saeed conquered Ta'ez, together with several hill forts in its vicinity, and fixed his residence at Denwah, a small village near Oudain, and distant about five days' journey from Aden, where he assumed royal state, and caused coins to be struck, having on one side the legend *Mehdi-el-Montether*, and on the reverse *Sultán-el-Bur wa El-Bahr*, 'Sultan of the land and the sea.' Many powerful chiefs gave in their adhesion to the Regenerator, and amongst the foremost was the Sultan of Láhej.

In November the Imám took the field with 20,000 soldiers to oppose the insurgents, who numbered 12,000 fighting men. The Regenerator directed the Dthoo-Mahommed and Dthoo-Hoosain tribes to attack the outposts of the Imám's army at Ezroom; but, instead of doing so, they declared in favour of

that prince, and, to prove their sincerity, made a night attack upon Fukee Saeed's army, which they defeated with a loss of 130 men. Several skirmishes took place between the two forces, victory being always on the side of the Imám, who, encouraged by his successes, marched against Denwah, which he carried after a sharp engagement. Several hundreds of the Regenerator's army fell, and he himself perished with them. This occurred about December.

Immediately afterwards the Imám made himself master of Ta'ez, and summoned Hoosain bin Ali Hyder to deliver up the Tehâma to its rightful sovereign. The latter replied that it had been given to him by God, and he would defend it to the last, at all hazards. He appointed his brother Hamood governor of Mokha, reserving to himself a general superintendence over that and all the other towns of the Tehâma which had fallen into his hands.

A.D. 1841.

In the mean time the Shereefs Hoosain and Hamood committed numberless acts of cruelty and oppression on the merchants residing at their ports. They imprisoned one till he paid a ransom of 12,000 dollars, another was confined on false pretexts, and compelled to pay 16,000 dollars as the price of his freedom, and a third met the same fate and was mulct in 10,000 dollars; at last, as if tired of individual acts of oppression, they had an immense grain chest constructed, in which they confined twenty-five of the merchants of Mokha, and declared that the price of their freedom must be tithes of their property, to which condition they were forced to accede. Even British subjects were not exempt from these atrocities. Extortionate duties were levied on all the goods exported to Aden; merchants were imprisoned without the shadow of a cause, and nacodas* of country craft visiting Mokha were compelled to convey all the diseased and indigent persons thence to Aden.

Later in the year the merchants were put under forced contributions, on the pretext of enabling the Shereef to send an army in conjunction with Aiedth ibn Murrie, chief of the Beni Aseer, to attack Aden, and he enforced his demands by chaining them together by the neck until they were forced into compliance. These acts of oppression had the effect of draining Mokha of all who had any property to lose, or any respectability to preserve, and at one time the emigration to Aden took place at the rate of 1,200 per month.

On the 22nd of April 1841, a mission from the Imám of Sanäa arrived in Aden with valuable presents, the object of which was to request the co-operation of the British by sea, to enable that prince to wrest the ports of the Tehâma from the Shereefs of Aboo-Areesh; but the principle of non-intervention in Arab politics, which had been enjoined on the Political Agent, prevented

*. Masters.

this request being acceded to. The Imám, far from taking any steps to accomplish this end himself, remained in inactivity at Ibb, under the impression that the British would at last be compelled to undertake the task.

Notwithstanding that this first request for armed intervention had proved unsuccessful, the Imám sent another envoy in July, to renew it. This officer, who held the post of governor of Ta'ez, was empowered to offer any conditions, and expressed the willingness of his master to sign whatever treaty the British might dictate, and even to cede Zaila or any other of his possessions, as the price of this co-operation.

The Political Agent, though sincerely sympathising with the ruler of Sanaä, informed him that the British had decided on the strictest neutrality in the contests which were devastating Yemen, and which could not, from their very nature, be of long continuance.

It is much to be regretted that no active measures were taken to avenge the indignities and oppression which the British flag and Indian merchants had suffered at the hands of the Shereefs, but both the Indian and the Home governments had the greatest disinclination to engage in petty wars; and the submission of the Hejáz to the Porte and the recognition of the suzerainty of the Sultan in Yemen, which appears to have been made by the British Government about this time, opened the way for a pacific adjustment of the matter, and negotiations were commenced to this effect by Her Majesty's ambassador at Constantinople.

In March 1842 a commissioner, named Ashraf Bey, was despatched by the Porte, with orders to the Turkish authorities in Arabia, for the deposition of the Shereef Hoosain, and to exact from him ample reparation for the numberless insults and injuries which he had inflicted on British subjects. The commissioner arrived at Zebeed in September, and, after a few days' residence there with the Shereef, he proceeded to Hodaida, where he embarked for Jedda. It is probable that he was bribed by the Shereef, as he sedulously avoided all chance of meeting Mr. Cruttenden, the Assistant Political Agent, who was sent from Aden to confer with him. He subsequently reported that having found Shereef Hoosain submissive to the demands of the Porte, and that he solemnly denied all intention of insult to the British flag, which he was willing to re-hoist on any house save that of Abd-er-Rasool, and not having it in his power to enforce any further demands, he had returned to the Hejáz. The Shereef was well pleased with the results of this commission, as it preserved him from a rupture with Turkey, which might have proved inconvenient, although the power of that government in Arabia was then too weak to admit of their threat of causing his removal to be carried into execution.

A.D. 1842.

In the mean while the Imám remained in a state of inactivity at Sanäa, or Ibb, apparently too much reduced in finances to permit him to engage in a struggle for the recovery of his lost provinces.

In the beginning of the following year he sent a third time to Aden, to beg the assistance of the British, and requested that an English officer might be deputed to visit him at Sanäa, and advise with him as to the best means of expelling the usurpers. The same reply was, however, returned as on a former occasion.

A.D. 1843.

In July 1843 Shereef Hoosain was raised to the dignity of Pasha by the Sultan, and formally invested with the government of the Tehäma, upon the condition that he should pay 70,000 dollars of annual tribute to the imperial treasury. The investiture was performed with considerable ceremony by the same Ashraf Bey who had formerly been sent to depose him.

It had been agreed at Constantinople that a British consul should be sent to Mokha; and Ashraf Bey, after the investiture, came to Aden, to meet the gentleman who had been selected for this office, and to deliver to him his exequator; but after a delay of nearly five months in Aden, there appearing no prospect of the newly appointed consul making his appearance, he left for Hodaida.

The Imám El-Hádi Mahommed ibn Ahmed died on the 8th January 1844. At first it appeared probable that the succession would be disputed between the ex-Imám Ali Mansoor, who had been deposed in 1837 and was then residing in Sanäa, and Seedee Kássim, governor of Ta'ez, the same who had sold that city to Ibrahim Pasha; the former, however, assumed the government, almost without opposition. No sooner had he ascended the throne than he determined to make an effort to recover the Tehäma, and restore the kingdom of his ancestors to its former importance.

A.D. 1844.

His first step was to march to Kátaba with a force of 20,000 men, horse and foot; on his way he captured the stronghold of Maráeis, which had rebelled against his authority, and levied contributions from the villages through which he passed. He arrived in Kátaba in July, and immediately issued a proclamation directing all the chiefs in the vicinity to visit him, and do him homage as their legitimate sovereign; many obeyed, but by far the greater number either openly refused or excused themselves; amongst the last was the Sultan of Láhej. In August the Imám sent an embassy to the Political Agent at Aden to explain his views, and learn whether the British would raise any objection to his occupation of Láhej and the Abdali country, assuring him of his friendly feeling towards the British, and that this occupation would in no wise prove injurious to their interests. At the same time he wrote to Sultan Mahsin, announcing his intention to make war against the infidel

Franks, who held Aden, and called upon him to aid the holy cause by liberal contributions. It is not probable that he was in earnest in this, but made use of the pretext in order to extort a subsidy.

While the Imám was absent from his capital, his uncle, Seedee Kássim, who acted as his viceroy, endeavoured to excite the inhabitants to revolt. On this becoming known to the Imám, he immediately suspended his operations and returned to Sanäa, in order to counteract the designs of his uncle; the latter saved himself by flight, and proceeded to Mecca, where he shortly afterwards died.

Ali Mansoor then took up his residence at Yereem, where he was detained longer than he anticipated; and the year had nearly expired ere he again resumed warlike operations. He afterwards sent an advance force to Dthoomád, a town equidistant from Aden and Mokha, and about four days' journey from each, while he himself remained at Yereem, where he married a daughter of the chief of the Resás tribe. In the mean time small-pox broke out in the Imám's army, and carried off immense numbers; it also overspread the greater part of Yemen, and reached as far as Aden. While the Imám was engaged in the festivities consequent on his marriage, he received a visit from the brother of Shereef Hoosain, the object of which never transpired, but shortly afterwards the Shereef collected a force of 15,000 men at Hais, and prepared to march upon Ta'ez, which was garrisoned by 350 of the Imám's troops. He was joined by Hajee ibn Aboo Táleb and Mahommed ibn Mansoor, his nephews, as well as by Abd-er-Rub, the son of Sheikh Kássim Sherjebí, and Ibn-el-Domáj,* a chief of the Dthoo-Mahommed tribe. No movement was undertaken until January in the following year, when the city fell without resistance.

A.D. 1845. The Bedouins of the Jibleh district, from whom he demanded a heavy tribute, offered a spirited resistance to the Shereef, and in a night-attack defeated his forces, with a loss of one hundred killed and twice as many wounded. This reverse had the effect of raising a spirit of discontent amongst his troops, the number of whom dwindled down to about four thousand in less than a month. Undeterred by this serious defection, and in the full confidence that his first successes would draw increased numbers to his standard, he continued his operations until Ibb and Jibleh fell into his hands. Hearing, however, that the Pasha of the Hejáz had received large reinforcements, and contemplated the removal of Shereef Mahommed bin Own from the government of Mecca, and sending an expedition to Yemen, Shereef Hoosain collected what money he could extort

* It will be remembered that Ibn-el-Domáj was formerly dowla of Ta'ez, and a principal party concerned in the sale of that city to the Turkish government.

from the towns and villages he had subdued, and, dismissing many of his Bedouin mercenaries, retired to his stronghold at Aboo-Areesh.

About July Mahommed Yehia, a member of the royal family at Sanäa, who, from his intriguing nature, had obtained the *sobriquet* of Shooä-el-Luil, collected a force of from ten to fifteen thousand men, including a number of the disbanded Bedouins of Shereef Hoosain, led by his brother Shereef Hezaar, and appearing before Sanäa, called upon his nephew Ali Mansoor to resign the government into his hands. The demand was at first peremptorily refused, and preparations were made for defence; but the inhabitants suddenly declared for the usurper, and offered to open the gates of Sanäa to him, on condition that the Imám Ali should be handsomely provided for, and permitted to reside in one of the royal palaces, as long as he refrained from interfering with public affairs. These terms were accepted, and Mahommed Yehia was proclaimed Imám, under the title of El-Metawakkil.

In January 1846 the new sovereign marched to Shäab, thirty or forty miles north-west of Kátaba, whence he wrote to all neighbouring chiefs, stating his intention of visiting the Tehámа; in the following month he proceeded in the direction of Ta'ez, but on account of the impoverished state of his finances he experienced the greatest difficulty in keeping his small force together, although it did not exceed 2,000 men. In short, the year expired without his having achieved anything, and at the end of December he was encamped at El-Khallel, near Ta'ez, with 3,000 men.

A.D. 1846.

In the beginning of the following year he marched to Rainat Ghazáb, near Zebeed, and entered into communication with Sheikh Ali Homaidee, then at war with Shereef Hoosain. He endeavoured to induce that chief to assist him in recovering the Tehámа, but, after a drawn battle between Sheikh Ali and the Shereef, these two leaders made peace, in consequence of which the Imám was obliged to retire to Ta'ez.

A.D. 1847.

This alliance did not last long; as soon as a rupture took place, the Imám collected all his forces for one final and desperate effort to recover his lost possessions. In this he was assisted by the Háshed-wa-Bakeel, and a contingent from Sheikh Ali Homaidee. A battle was fought near Zebeed, in which Shereef Hoosain was wounded in the leg; he then retired to Hodaida, where he was followed by the Imám, with a force of 8,000 men.

A. D. 1848.

The Shereef was rash enough to venture out to give the Imám battle with 1,500 foot and 100 horse, leaving a sufficient force for the defence of the town. The armies met at Bájil, and a sanguinary conflict ensued, in which the Shereef was completely routed; a remnant of his forces reached Hodaida, but

the Shereef, whose wound prevented his being carried so far, was conveyed by a few faithful adherents to a mountain fort called El-Katteea. Here he was completely invested, and, as all supplies were cut off, he was compelled to surrender upon the Imám's own terms, which were, that Mokha, Bait-el-Fukeeh, and Zebeed should be at once delivered up. The Shereef was detained a prisoner until he purchased his release for the sum of 20,000 dollars.

Mahommed Yehia then took possession of Zebeed, Bait-el-Fukeeh, Bájil, and Hais, and sent a force under Sheikh Ali Homaidee to occupy Lohaia. Hodaida, however, still held out.

On the 19th of March the Imám occupied Mokha, and while he was there a division of the Shereef's army again took Zebeed, which was given up to plunder for two whole days, during which every species of atrocity was perpetrated. On hearing this, the Shereef, leaving a garrison in Mokha, took the field with an army of 5,000 men, and proceeded to Hais, but his troops, finding that his exchequer was exhausted, endeavoured to betray him into the hands of the Shereef, hoping to be largely rewarded for their perfidy, but he, gaining intelligence of the conspiracy, fled to Sanäa.

Another division of the Shereef's army laid siege to Mokha, which was obstinately defended by the Imam's lieutenant, the Ameer Futteh Mahommed; after the lapse of two months the city was delivered up through the treachery of the garrison, particularly of Seyed Mahommed-el-Bar, who deserted to the enemy, after he had made arrangements for his admission. So suddenly was this perfidy planned and executed, that the Ameer had barely time to save his life, by taking refuge on board the H. E. I. C. schooner *Mahi*, which happened to be in the roads. He was taken to Aden, where he was entertained at the government expense, and provided with means to enable him to return to Sanäa.

The Ameer reached Kátaba on the 10th of August, and pushed on with the utmost haste to Sanäa. The Imám, who had heard of the disasters at Mokha, and of the treachery of the garrison, took measures to intercept their retreat; a considerable number fell into his hands, and twenty-three were decapitated. He then called a meeting of his chiefs, and took hostages from them, that they would assist him against the Shereef after the fast of Ramadán.

In November Ta'ez again fell into his hands, and in December he occupied Yereem with a strong force. In January of the following year he marched to Maráeis, thirty miles north of Kátaba; but in consequence of an insurrection at Sanäa, and the murder of the governor, Aboo Zaid, he was forced to make a retrograde movement towards his capital.

Whilst this desultory warfare was being carried on between the Imám and Shereef Hoosain bin Ali Hyder, the Turkish government, thinking that

the proper time had arrived to take possession of Yemen, sent Toufieh Pasha, with a fleet from Jedda, and a land force under Mahommed bin Own, Shereef of Mecca, against Hodaida.

The Pasha arrived there on the 19th of April, and at once called upon the Shereef to surrender the town, which he at first refused to do, but eventually it was agreed that he should receive a pension from the Turkish government, as the price of his submission, whereupon he delivered up Hodaida and all the other towns of the Tehâma. He retried to Aboo-Areesh, where he had for years been accumulating treasure, guns, and all descriptions of stores, the spoils of the Tehâma; his pension was never paid, and he determined to proceed to Constantinople to lay his case before the Sultan, but on his way thither he died suddenly, under circumstances of great suspicion, in March 1851.

A.D. 1849.

Toufieh Pasha retained the government of Hodaida, Bait-el-Fukeeh, Seneef, and the country contained between these points, while the Shereef Abdulla, son of Mahommed bin Own, was raised to the dignity of Pasha, and appointed governor of Mokha, Zebeed, and Hais.

As soon as Toufieh Pasha felt his power somewhat consolidated in the maritime districts of Yemen, he summoned the Imâm of Sanäa to surrender his dominions to the Porte; the Imâm hesitated to comply with this demand, while the warlike tribes of Dthoo-Mahommed and Dthoo-Hoosain treated it with open scorn. The Imâm was eventually persuaded to visit the Pasha and Mahommed bin Own at Hodaida. On his arrival there, in July, he was saluted with twenty-one guns and treated with royal honours, and after much persuasion was prevailed on to sign a convention, of which the following were the chief points:—

First.—The country then held by the Imâm was to continue under his government, but he was to be considered as a vassal of the Porte.

Secondly.—The revenues of the country were to be divided, one moiety was to be paid into the imperial treasury, and the other was to be retained by the Imâm for the benefit of the province.

Thirdly.—Sanäa was to be garrisoned by a thousand regular Turkish troops.

Fourthly.—The Imâm should retain, for his private expenses, 37,000 dollars per month, to be deducted previous to the division of the revenue.

On the completion of these arrangements, Toufieh Pasha with a large force set out with the Imâm for Sanäa to inaugurate the new *régime*. They arrived on a Thursday, about noon, and the Turkish soldiery took possession of a fort called El-Kusr; the change of government was immediately proclaimed, and it was intimated that on the morrow, the day observed by Mahommedans for

public prayers, the name of Sultan Abd-el-Mejid should be substituted for that of the Imám in the ritual. No sooner did this transpire, than the inhabitants, who were of the Zaidee sect, flew to arms, and fell upon the Turks, few of whom escaped being massacred. This took place about 8 P. M. of the day on which they arrived. The Turks who remained there bombarded the city from the fort, but their fire was weak and did little damage.

The inhabitants were so exasperated at the treacherous conduct of Mahommed Yehia, that they seized and imprisoned him, and appointed the ex-Imám Ali Mansoor, who had twice before been deposed, in his stead.

Eventually Toufieh Pasha, who had received two wounds, was obliged to make the best terms he could, and compounded for his own personal safety, and permission to withdraw the remnant of his force to Hodaida, for the sum of 20,000 dollars. The Pasha died of his wounds, and exhaustion consequent on the hardships he had undergone, on the 23rd March 1850, and was succeeded by Shereef Abdulla Pasha, governor of Mokha.

On the departure of the Turks, Ali Mansoor ordered the troops to bring forth Mahommed Yehia, together with his mother and son, and execute them in front of the palace. This they refused to do, and he was privately put to death on the 11th December. His son Ghálib escaped, and took refuge with the Dthoo-Mahommed and Dthoo-Hoosain, by whose assistance he collected a large body of troops and proceeded against Sanäa. A bloody engagement took place in the Wadi Dtháhir, in which Ali Mansoor was completely defeated, and he himself fell into the hands of Ghálib.

The victor proclaimed himself Imám, under the title of El-Hádi. His first act was one of mercy; instead of revenging his father's death on Ali Mansoor, he contented himself with confiscating his property, and then set him at liberty. Ghálib took up his residence at Rodäa, a village about six miles from Sanäa, but his power was merely nominal. The inhabitants of the capital refused to recognise his authority, and for a time Sanäa remained in a state of complete disorder; robberies and murders were events of every day occurrence, the Jews and foreign merchants were despoiled of all they possessed, and this once magnificent city was abandoned to anarchy and confusion. At last the merchants, to ameliorate, in some measure, this state of affairs, elected a governor from amongst their own body, named Ahmed-el-Khaima; he, however, possessed little real power, even within the walls of the city, and none whatever beyond them.

A.D. 1850.

The latest authentic accounts which have been received of the state of Sanäa are from the Rev. Mr. Stern, who visited it in September 1856, at the request of the Society for Promoting Christianity amongst the Jews, chiefly with the

object of preaching Christianity amongst that people in Arabia. He started from Hodaida, where he was obliged to adopt the common Arab dress, and in that garb, which unsparingly exposed him to the fierce rays of the sun by day and the keen air of the mountains by night, he patiently toiled, barefoot, and frequently without the necessaries of life, over pathless mountains and perpendicular cliffs, till he reached the capital of Yemen.

At first he took up his residence in the Jewish quarter, in the house of More Saida Mansoor, one of the principal rabbis, but was subsequently obliged to remove for safety to the khan of a wealthy Mahommedan merchant, named Ali Zarki, situated in the centre of the market-place. He was well received by the governor, Sheikh Ahmed-el-Khaima, and allowed to hold free intercourse with the Jews, amongst whom, with the permission of the Mahommedan authorities, he distributed the books he had brought for the purpose, and which were eagerly and thankfully received.

Mr. Stern describes Sanäa as being in a complete state of anarchy: but three Banian merchants remained in the city; and of these, two were murdered during his stay, and their property seized by the governor; the third, a very old man, was on the point of abjuring his religion, in the hope of saving his life.

The ancient splendour of the Imáms had disappeared with the extinction of their dynasty, and the reception room of the governor displayed nothing of wealth or luxury: the bare walls overhung with gaudy chintz, and the divans covered with old faded carpets, gave it an inexpressibly shabby and ragged appearance. Sheikh Ahmed-el-Khaima is described as an olive-coloured Arab, in whose lustreless eyes and sunken cheeks vice had stamped her indelible characters.

The Turks, foiled in their endeavours to obtain possession of Sanäa, endeavoured to extend their conquests in Arabia to the eastward of Aden. In the month of August 1850, a force, consisting of 300 regulars and 500 irregulars, under the command of Seyed Ishák, was organised at Mokha, and embarked on board an old ship, two war zebeks, and four buggalows, for the purpose of effecting the conquest of Shehr and Makulla; on their arrival at Bunder Broom they were met by the vessels of Mahommed Habeeb, nakeeb of Makulla, and defeated with considerable loss; their opponents lost ten men killed, and twenty wounded. The Turks fled to Shurma and Ghossair, and eventually found their way back to Mokha.

Shortly afterwards the Turks sent a force, consisting of a few Nizam and a thousand Arab mercenaries, to take possession of the town of Raima, which had been ceded to them under certain conditions. These were not observed, and the inhabitants rose and expelled them.

Another force took by storm the city of Seneef in January 1851. The siege was attended by acts of great cruelty, and 120 of the principal inhabitants were taken prisoners and banished to the island of Kamarán.

A.D. 1851.

In consequence of the rapacity of the Turkish revenue collectors in Yemen, the Jerancea Arabs murdered a party of fifteen soldiers employed on that duty. To avenge this outrage, Mustafa Pasha proceeded to Zebeed in July 1852, for the purpose of collecting a force wherewith to chastise them. On returning to Hodaida with about 150 men, he was attacked, near Hoosaineea, by five or six hundred of the Jeraneea, who entirely routed his small force. He, with twenty followers, escaped to Bait-el-Fukeeh, where he died on the following day from exhaustion.

A.D. 1852.

He was succeeded in the government of the Turkish possessions in Yemen by Mahommed Pasha; but the latter did not long survive his predecessor: he was poisoned at Hais in 1853, by an Arab girl, whom he had forcibly removed to his hareem.

A.D. 1853.

The importation and public sale of slaves in the Hejáz were prohibited, by an imperial firman, in November 1855; this edict was first promulgated at Mecca by the Kádi, under the orders of the Turkish Kaimakám, and caused very serious disturbances. The Kádi was assaulted in his court by the infuriated rabble; the oulemas refused to recognise the right of the sultan to legislate in matters opposed to the Mahommedan religion, and the inhabitants flew to arms, and compelled the small Turkish garrison to retire within the fortified position, where it remained for several days in a state of siege.

A.D. 1855.

About the same time an order was received from Constantinople for the removal of Abd-el-Motalib, Shereef of Mecca, and the reinstatement of Mahommed bin Own in his place. The former took advantage of the riots to resist this order, and, placing himself at the head of the insurgents, took possession of Mecca, and for a time cut off all communication with the sea coast. At length, the Pasha of the Hejáz, having collected all the troops at his disposal, again possessed himself of the holy city, and restored tranquillity there, whereupon the rebel Shereef retired to Taif, and for the remainder of the year continued to hold out against the Turkish authority.

No sooner was the disturbance in the Hejáz partially quelled, than others, of a much more serious nature, threatening the very existence of the Turkish power, broke out in Yemen. The Beni Aseer, taking advantage of the distracted state of the Hejáz, and probably at the instigation of Abd-el-Motalib, marched against Hodaida. The governor of Yemen, Mahommed Pasha, with-

drew all his troops from the detached positions in which they had been stationed, and concentrated them for the defence of the capital.

A.D. 1856.

In January 1856, the Aseer force, to the number of 60,000, led by their chief, Aiedth-bin-Murrie, invested Hodaida, but the presence of the H. C. steam-frigate *Queen*, and the sloop of war *Elphinstone*, which had been sent thither for the protection of British subjects and their property, deterred them from attacking the town. In the mean time, when the defenders had almost lost hope, and all the women and children had been sent away, cholera broke out in the Aseeri camp, and carried off 3,000 in a very few days, whereupon they commenced a precipitate retreat. Ere they had reached their own country, 15,000, including their chief and many of the principal men, fell victims to the pestilence.

The newly appointed Shereef of Mecca arrived in Egypt from Constantinople in April, and proceeded to Jedda in the H. C. steam-frigate *Feroze*. He arrived there on the 15th of April, and on the same day Abd-el-Motalib, at the head of his Arabs, made a desperate attempt to take Mecca: a portion of his force actually entered the city, but was driven out with heavy loss. The fighting continued from morning till noon, when the Shereef was driven back and forced to take refuge at Taif; the casualties on his side amounted to between 200 and 250 killed and wounded, while on that of the Turks they did not exceed 60. On Thursday, the 17th, Mahommed bin Own entered Mecca; and on the following day the Sultan's firman, appointing him governor of the city, was publicly read, and large sums of money distributed to the poor. Early in the following month the Turkish regular troops, and the Arabs in their interest, besieged Taif, and on the 21st a deputation of the inhabitants waited on the Turkish commander, and offered to deliver up the city on condition that their lives and property should be spared, and that no injury should be done to the city. These terms were accepted, and on the following morning the Turkish troops took possession of Taif. Abd-el-Motalib, seeing that all hope of escape was cut off, surrendered himself, and was sent prisoner to Constantinople.

CHAPTER XIX.

HISTORY OF THE REIGNING FAMILY OF LA'HEJ AND ADEN, FROM THE PERIOD OF THEIR INDEPENDENCE TO THE CONQUEST OF ADEN BY THE BRITISH.

The chief of the Abdali tribe, Foudthel bin Ali bin Foudthel bin Sáleh bin Sálem, threw off his allegiance to the Imám of Sanäa, El-Mansoor Hoosain ibn Kássim, in A.D. 1728, and declared himself an independent prince. He concerted measures, with his powerful neighbour the chief of Yaffa, to obtain possession of the important stronghold and seaport of Aden, and it was stipulated that they should enjoy the revenues alternately.

A.D. 1728.

In 1735 the confederate chieftains succeeded in obtaining possession of the place, but ere six months had elapsed, the Sultan of Láhej, as he had styled himself, expelled his colleague. His rapacity and extortion extinguished the few sparks of commercial prosperity which still clung to the port, and from this date the rapid downfall of Aden may be traced.

A.D. 1735.

Foudthel bin Ali was killed by the Yaffai in 1742. He left two sons, Abd-el-Kereem and Mahsin, and two daughters; he was succeeded by the first.

A.D. 1742.

Abd-el-Kereem was a wise and benevolent prince, but his indolence of character prevented his people from benefiting by his rule as much as they otherwise would have done. During his reign Aden was governed by a favourite slave.

In 1753 Abd-er-Rub, the heroic chief of Hajereea, invaded Láhej and blockaded the Sultan in Aden during a period of five months, and was only induced to evacuate the country by receiving a large sum of money. In the same year Abd-el-Kereem died, leaving five sons, namely, Abd-el-Hádi, Foudthel, Násr, Ali, and Ahmed. Ali was killed by the falling of a stone from one of the houses in Aden, Násr died early; Abd-el-Hádi succeeded his father.

A.D. 1753.

In 1771 Aden was stormed by Azab Mukki, chief of the Azaiba tribe, who retained it for two days, when he was driven out.

A.D. 1771.

Mahsin bin Foudthel bin Ali was killed by order of his uncle Abd-el-Hádi, and in the following year the Sultan himself died of small-pox, which carried off nearly one-fourth of the inhabitants of Láhej and the surrounding districts, but though Aden was crowded with fugitives from the interior, the disease did not enter.

A.D. 1776.

Abd-el-Hádi was succeeded by his brother Foudthel bin Abd-el-Kereem, who died in 1792, and was succeeded by another brother Ahmed. This prince was visited by Mr. Salt in 1809, and by Captain Haines of the Indian Navy in 1820. He is described as a very handsome old man, of a benign and intelligent expression of countenance, much beloved by his people, and greatly addicted to agriculture. He behaved in the most friendly manner to the British on the occasion of the force under Lieutenant Colonel Murray evacuating the island of Perim in 1799, when he voluntarily offered to receive the troops into Aden, until a change of the monsoon admitted of their proceeding to Bombay, and during their stay there he treated them with unexampled hospitality.

A.D. 1777—1792.

An instance of the toleration towards Christians which characterised his reign is recorded by Mr. Salt, in describing a visit he paid to the Sultan at Láhej in company with Aboo Bekr, dowla of Aden. After dinner was over, Aboo Bekr rose up, and considerately observed that, as he knew it was customary for Christians to take wine after their meals, he should leave him for a short time to the enjoyment of it. Mr. Salt observes that it would be difficult to find a person whose lot was more to be envied than Sultan Ahmed's. By his able and judicious line of conduct he had raised his seigniory to a respectable rank amongst the principalities of Yemen, and by his constant solicitude for the welfare of his subjects, he became fully entitled to the appellation of 'father of his country,' which was commonly bestowed upon him.*

A.D. 1798.

A treaty of friendship and commerce was concluded between this chief and Sir Home Popham in 1802, after the unsuccessful attempt of the latter to enter into a similar engagement with the Imám of Sanäa.

Whilst the whole peninsula of Arabia was convulsed by the Wahábi war, the little state of Aden, by the wisdom of its ruler and the bravery of its army, offered a sturdy resistance to the progress of the reformers. A remarkable instance of the friendly feeling of this chief towards the British occurred in 1804. A large Surat vessel was lying at anchor in the harbour, when the Joasmee fleet entered. The sultan sent his soldiers on board to defend her from the Wahábi pirates, and compelled

A.D. 1804.

* Salt, p. 117.

them to put to sea without having received any supplies, although they offered him half the plunder they had already received, to be permitted to remain.

A.D. 1819. In 1819 Sultan Abdulla bin Fureed, chief of the Upper Oulaki tribe, marched upon Láhej with a force of 8,000 fighting men, for the purpose of extorting money from the wealthy Sultan; he plundered the cattle of the Abdali, and succeeded in obtaining 7,000 dollars as an inducement to return to his country.

A.D. 1827. Sultan Ahmed expired in 1827, after a reign of nearly thirty-six years, and was succeeded by his nephew, Mahsin bin Foudthel. Ahmed was one of the bravest and most politic of the chiefs of Yemen; he encouraged commerce, invited merchants from India and Egypt to settle in his territories, had a well-organised body of troops at his disposal; and Aden, under his government, bade fair to regain a portion of its lost importance.* His successor was a man of quite a different stamp, being inhospitable and deceitful, avaricious, and unscrupulous in the acquisition of wealth.

A.D. 1829. In 1829 the Bombay Government, in pursuance of orders from the Court of Directors, relative to steam navigation between England and India, despatched the *Benares* and *Palinurus* to complete the survey of the Red Sea. Some coal was also sent to Aden, and landed on Seerah island, for the use of the *Hugh Lindsay*, the first steamer built in India, and the first which attempted the navigation of the Red Sea. On the occasion of her first visit to Aden, it was found so difficult to obtain labour, that six days were occupied in taking on board 180 tons of coal. Aden was therefore abandoned, and Makulla was selected as a coaling station for the steamers engaged in the overland communication.

A.D. 1835. Captain Haines, of the Indian Navy, then engaged in the survey of the south-east coast of Arabia, visited Aden in 1835. Two of the officers of his vessel visited the Sultan at Láhej, who treated them well, and requested the assistance of the British in an expedition which he contemplated organising against the Foudtheli tribe, in retaliation for a recent attack made by them upon Aden; it is needless to state that this request was not entertained.

A.D. 1836. In the following year the Foudthelies again attacked Aden, which they sacked, and carried off property to the value of 30,000 dollars; they also exacted a tribute for the future of one dollar per diem.

On the morning of the 4th of January, the Madras ship *Deria Dowlat*,

* Wellsted, vol. i. p. 110.

belonging to Ahmed-en-Nissa Begum, a niece of the Nawab of the Carnatic, and sailing under British colours, went on shore in the Koobet Sailán, a few miles distant from Aden. She had a valuable cargo on board, and a considerable number of pilgrims, bound for Jedda. As daylight dawned, she was boarded by crowds of Arabs from Aden, who plundered her of everything that could be removed. The passengers, amongst whom were several ladies of rank, landed on rafts, in doing which fourteen perished. The survivors were seized by the Arabs, stripped naked, and the females subjected to the most brutal indignities, and only saved from being carried off into the interior by the intercession of the Seyed of Aidroos, an influential family in Aden, who supplied them with food and clothing.

A.D. 1837.

The government of Bombay felt bound, not merely to demand redress for this outrage, but to take such further precautions as should preclude the recurrence of similar atrocities. For this purpose, Captain Haines, I.N., was despatched to Aden in the Honorable Company's sloop of war *Coote;* and he was instructed, in the event of his negotiations proving successful, to endeavour to obtain the place by purchase, in order that British commerce in the Red Sea might be placed on a safer footing for the future, and that a secure coal depôt for the vessels engaged in the overland transit might be established.

A.D. 1838.

Captain Haines arrived on the 28th December 1837, and on the 4th of January following he landed, and had his first interview with the Sultan; the latter denied, most solemnly, all knowledge of, or participation in the atrocity with which he was charged, but, as the property of the *Deria Dowlat* was being sold publicly in the market, his assertion was not received. A formal demand was accordingly made for the sum of 12,000 dollars as an indemnity, or the entire restitution of the plundered property. After much negotiation, goods to the value of 7,808 dollars were restored, and the Sultan passed a bill, at twelve months' sight, to Captain Haines, for the remainder, 4,192 dollars.

Having thus settled the primary object of his mission, Captain Haines succeeded in obtaining from the Sultan a written bond, dated 23rd January, that he would cede the peninsula to the British in the following March, in consideration of an annual pension of 8,700 dollars.* But before this could be embodied in a treaty, a plot had been formed by the sultan's son for the seizure of the papers and person of the Political Agent after the parting interview. Intelligence of this meditated treachery having reached Captain Haines, the interview was evaded, and he proceeded to Bombay.

* Bombay Book of Treaties, p. 282.

On the 24th October he again returned to Aden, authorised by his government to enforce the completion of the stipulated agreement. He forthwith addressed the sultan, demanding the fulfilment of his contract, but his requisition was met with language and conduct the most violent and insulting.

"I am," so wrote the sultan's son, "above my father and you. If you come to the gate I will permit you to enter, and then be upon your head; such is the law of the Bedouins." The sultan refused to allow the plundered property, which had formerly been restored, to be removed from Aden: he issued orders that the *Coote* should not be supplied with water or provisions, and his soldiers fired upon the pinnace of that vessel, without the slightest provocation, slightly wounding two sailors.

In consequence of these outrages the port was blockaded; but, ere a month had elapsed, the sultan begged a truce of three days, which he treacherously employed in sending a boat to Saiárah on the African coast, whence the *Coote* was supplied with provisions, to endeavour, by a bribe of 200 dollars, to induce the Somalies to murder all the English who landed there.

On the 18th December the H. C. schooner *Mahi*, and the barque *Anne Crichton*, laden with coals, arrived, a most significant intimation to the sultan, had he chosen to accept it, that the British were determined to enforce the fulfilment of the agreement, into which he had voluntarily entered.

On the 11th of January, a skirmish took place off Seerah Island, between the battery on the mole, and the schooner *Mahi* with two gunboats: two seamen were wounded, and about twenty or thirty of the Arabs put *hors de combat*. On the 16th of January a force, consisting of H. M. S. *Volage*, 28 guns, under the command of Captain Smith, H. M. S. *Cruizer*, 10 guns, with 300 European and 400 native troops, commanded by Major Baillie, arrived at Aden: a final message was sent to the sultan, directing him to deliver up the place, but as this was not complied with, the town was bombarded, and taken by assault. The loss on the side of the British was 15, and on that of the Arabs 150 men, killed and wounded. The garrison consisted of 700 soldiers from the interior, and the remaining population did not exceed 600, of whom a great proportion were Jews. The sultan, his family, and a number of the chief people of the city, effected their escape to Láhej.

A.D. 1839.

Thus fell Aden into the hands of the British, being the first capture in the reign of Her Majesty Queen Victoria, and from this period the process of its restoration to something like its former importance was not less rapid than had been its decline.

CHAPTER XX.

ADEN SINCE THE BRITISH CONQUEST.

The first object of Captain Haines, after the capture of Aden, was to throw up temporary defences, sufficiently strong to resist a sudden attack, and to keep the Arab tribes quiet till this had been effected. In both he was successful, and a line of field works was speedily constructed across the isthmus, on the site of the old so-called Turkish fortification.

A.D. 1839.

Ere the month of January had expired, a treaty of peace and friendship was concluded with the Azaiba tribe, a branch of the Abdali; and in February, the sultan himself, and the chiefs of the various surrounding tribes, namely, the Akrabi, Subaiha, Yaffai, Foudtheli, Sherjebi, &c. executed similar engagements. On the 9th of March a European soldier, having imprudently strayed beyond the fortifications, was murdered by an Arab named Dthoobi, who managed to effect his escape. On the following day the sultan visited Aden, to express his regret at what had occurred, and to solicit the friendship of the British. On the 18th June he executed a bond,* pledging himself to maintain a friendly line of policy towards Aden, on which occasion he received the first payment of a stipend of 541 dollars per mensem (equivalent to the originally stipulated purchase-money of the place, and various small sums paid to subordinate chiefs, formerly chargeable on the revenues of Aden), which government was pleased to confer upon him as long as he should remain faithful to its interests, although he had justly forfeited it by having refused to deliver up the place.

From this time confidence was restored, and the natives of the surrounding districts began to flock rapidly to Aden. In the month of September following the occupation, the population had increased to 2,885, exclusive of the military, and in March 1840 it had reached 4,600.

The Abdali chief soon forgot his obligation, and, in conjunction with the sultan of the Foudtheli tribe, he attempted, on the 11th of November, to retake Aden, but he was defeated, with a loss of 200 killed and wounded; his stipend was stopped, and the town of Shughra, together with the whole of the Foudtheli coast, was blockaded for the share that tribe had taken in the affair.

* Bombay Book of Treaties, p. 284.

A second attack was made on the 21st May 1840, by the united Arab tribes in the pay of the Sultan of Láhej, amounting to 4,000 or 5,000 men; it was repulsed, like the first, with heavy loss. In both cases timely information of the designs of the enemy had been given to the authorities by the British agent at Láhej, and it was mainly through his instrumentality that they were so easily frustrated. This circumstance coming to the ears of the sultan, the house of the agent, Hássan Khateeb, was surrounded, and he himself murdered; both his dwelling and those of his family were plundered; and as a Jew had been the bearer of his letters, an order was issued directing the sack of every Jewish house in Láhej; and all landed property belonging to the residents in Aden was confiscated. The losses sustained by the merchants amounted to 15,000 dollars, independent of the plunder of sixteen houses belonging to the Khateeb family.

In neither of these two attacks had the Akrabi joined, but, on the contrary, they had evinced the most perfect good faith towards the British; irritated at this, the united forces of the Abdali and Foudtheli besieged the castle of Beer Ahmed, but were unable to reduce it. On the 3rd of September Sultan Mahsin seized a kafila of camels entering Aden with supplies, and, having sold them, appropriated the proceeds to his own use.

The state of affairs in Europe at this period rendered it advisable that certain points on the African coast should be obtained, with a view to their occupation, should occasion require it. To this end Captain Moresby and Lieutenant Barker, of the Indian Navy, were despatched to open friendly relations with the chiefs of Zaila and Tajoorra, and to obtain certain islands by purchase. A commercial treaty, bearing date 19th of August, was concluded between Sultan Mahommed bin Mahommed and Captain Moresby, on behalf of the British government, whereby the Mussah islands, situated in the Bay of Tajoorra, were ceded to the British crown. They were formally taken possession of, in the name of Her Majesty, on the 31st of the same month.

They are a group of barren coral islands, about thirty feet above the level of the sea, consisting of three large and five small rocky islets. They afford no water, but an abundant supply is obtainable on the mainland, about eight miles to the west of them, where there is a running stream and a good anchorage, whence the islands could be supplied with water, by means of boats, at all seasons of the year. In the same month two other islands were sold to, and taken possession of, by the British: one called the Bab, in the straits connecting the Koobet-Kharáb with the Bay of Tajoorra, and the other named Eibát, near the town of Zaila. While these events occurred, the whole province of Yemen, to which this portion of the coast of Africa had formerly been, and has since become, a dependency, was in a state of anarchy; it had been eva-

cuated by the Egyptians, the Imám of Sanäa had lost the Tehâma, which was usurped by the Beni Aseer and the Shereefs of Aboo-Areesh, while they had not extended their arms to Africa. The governments of Zaila and Tajoorra were in the hands of their hereditary chiefs, who owned no subjection to any foreign power, and, consequently, were perfectly competent to cede any part of their territories.

A third attempt to retake Aden occurred on the 5th of July 1841, at 2.45 A.M. The enemy mustered about 5,000 men, and advanced towards the isthmus defences with great impetuosity; but the sudden and unexpected fire from a block-boat, situated within twenty yards of the shore, and several gunboats within twelve yards, completely staggered them, while the fire from the line of works completed their discomfiture, and they retreated with a loss of 300 men. The principal tribes concerned in this attack were the Abdali and Foudtheli, and immediately after their repulse they retired to a place called Bir Hameed, not many miles distant from the Barrier Gate, and in a position whence they could effectually intercept all communication between Aden and the interior. Here they built a fort, which they named Nowbat Sheikh Mehdi, and commenced a series of raids, which caused the utmost annoyance to merchants and others bringing supplies into Aden. On the 29th of July, about 2 P. M., a body of eleven armed men, amongst whom were the Foudtheli sultan, Ahmed bin Abdulla, and three of his brothers, arrived at the Barrier Gate, and requested to speak with the interpreter, Ahmed bin Aidan. The latter, contrary to his instructions, left his post, and no sooner had he proceeded a short distance in front of the defences, than he was murdered by the Foudtheli chief, who, with his followers, succeeded in effecting his escape. In September a party of marauders crept close to the line of works, under cover of night, and fired at the sentries, fortunately without doing any execution, while the return fire killed and wounded eleven men and three camels.

A.D. 1841.

In consequence of the atrocities above related, and the almost daily robberies which were perpetrated on the roads leading to Aden, it was found necessary to dislodge the enemy from the position which he held at Nowbat Sheikh Mehdi, and to destroy the fort and village which he had erected there; accordingly, on the 11th of October, a force consisting of 300 European, 200 natives, and a detachment of artillery, under the command of Colonel Pennycuick, was despatched inland for this service, which was successfully accomplished, with a loss of one man, who died from a *coup de soleil*, and one officer and four men wounded. Having destroyed Nowbat Sheikh Medhi, the force proceeded to Sheikh Othmán, the fort of which was likewise destroyed, and then returned to Aden. At the same time that these operations were being carried on against

the allied tribes by land, the Foudtheli coast was blockaded by the vessels of the Indian Navy. These measures had the desired effect; the Foudtheli chief implored forgiveness for the past, and promised to observe a more friendly attitude towards the British for the future, and Sultan Mahsin visited Aden, on which occasion he entered into an engagement of peace and friendship,* and arranged for the restitution of the property of Hássan Khateeb, the British agent, who had been murdered by his orders; a pension was conferred by government on the family of this man and of Ahmed bin Aidán, in consideration of their having lost their lives in the public service.

A.D. 1844.

The monthly stipend of the Sultan of Láhej, which had been stopped from the date of his first attack upon Aden, was restored to him in February 1844, together with one year's back pay, in consideration of his having ceased to molest the British since 1841; but before doing so, it was thought necessary to guarantee his fidelity by a more stringent agreement than had previously existed.†

A.D. 1846.

In August 1846, a fanatic, named Seyed Ismail, who had preached a Jehád, or religious war, in Mecca, made his way thence, by slow marches, to the vicinity of Aden, accompanied by a crowd of Derweshes and religious zealots. On his arrival at El-Ghail, distant about two days' journey from Láhej, his force amounted to 2,000 men. He there issued a proclamation to the Abdali, Foudtheli, and Akrabi tribes, calling on them to join his standard, and promising them divine assistance and complete invulnerability. He then proceeded to Saida, a village seven miles from Láhej, where he was joined by many enthusiasts from the surrounding tribes, and on his arrival at Khároon, a point still nearer to Láhej, he was met by the infirm old sultan and several of his sons, and his army was plentifully supplied with food and fodder by the neighbouring tribes, and it was further augmented by 1,000 Abdalies, 500 Foudthelies, 100 Akrabies, and 200 Mughrabies.

On the 17th of August about 400 men of the Seyed's army approached to reconnoitre the outposts of Aden, but were driven back, with a loss of six killed, seventeen wounded, and three prisoners. On the 21st a division, of 1,100 or 1,200 strong, advanced to the bridge at Khore Mukser, while the Seyed fixed his head quarters at Sheikh Othmán. On the 26th a body of 2,000 men advanced close to Aden, but were repulsed by a well-directed fire from the line of works and the gunboats in the harbour. Dissensions then broke out in the Seyed's army, which rapidly melted away, and its leader, finding himself almost without a single adherent, accompanied the Foudtheli Sultan to El-

* Bombay Book of Treaties, p. 235.

† Idem, p. 287.

Abien; he was subsequently slain by a Bedouin in a brawl, on the 22nd August 1848. For a time the Foudtheli chief attempted to stop the traffic of Aden, but a blockade of his coast again compelled him to abstain.

On the 2nd April 1847, a large force of the Upper Oulaki tribe left Nisáb with the intention of over-running the Abdali territory; it marched through the Foudtheli country without opposition, and arrived at Láhej on the 24th of April; on the 7th of the following month the Oulakies returned to their country, after having compelled the sultan to pay them the sum of 3,500 dollars.

A.D. 1847.

Sultan Mahsin bin Foudthel died at Láhej, on the 30th of November, at an advanced age, and was succeeded by his son Ahmed. The old chief had ever proved himself inimical to the British. He is described as being low of stature, of a corpulent habit, and grave and saturnine disposition. From the day that he assumed the government, his time was wasted in useless disputes with the British or with the neighbouring Arab tribes, and so great was his avarice, that, not content with the treasures which had been amassed by his predecessors, he continued to extort money from all who came within his power, until respectable merchants fled from his dominions, to avoid his arbitrary exactions.

His successor, Ahmed, was a man of different stamp; he was sensible of the advantages which friendly relations with the British would confer upon his tribe, and used his utmost endeavours to cultivate them; but he was cut off at an early age ere any of the measures of reform, which were confidently expected to be carried out under his rule, had even been commenced. He visited Aden on the 28th February 1848, on the occasion of his succession, and in token of his friendship for the British; he remained till the 8th of March; he died of small-pox on the 18th January 1849, and was succeeded by his brother Ali, the present chief of the tribe.

A.D. 1849.

Ali Mahsin resembles his father in cunning and treachery, but he is wanting in the warlike spirit which made the latter so formidable an enemy. His policy, ever since he succeeded to the government of his country, has been to alienate the surrounding tribes from the British, and on their defection build for himself the reputation of being the steadfast friend and supporter of the English. In this he has, till very lately, been but too successful; his intrigues fostered into irreconcilable rancour the disputes which have frequently arisen between the Arab tribes and the authorities of Aden, and for many years frustrated all attempts at reconciliation. It is only since the commencement of 1857 that the fatal effect of this policy has become apparent, but it is satisfactory to add that, through the sagacity of the British representative, the sur-

rounding tribes have, without a single exception, laid aside their animosity, and are now on the most friendly footing with the British.

Soon after the accession of Ali Mahsin, a new treaty was concluded between him and the East India Company; it bears date 7th May 1849, and was ratified by Lord Dalhousie, Governor General of India, on the 30th October in the same year.*

A.D. 1850.

The first of a series of atrocities, which for many years complicated the relations of the British with the Arab tribes, and gave rise to great trouble and anxiety, occurred on the 29th May 1850. A boat from the H. C. steam-frigate *Auckland* proceeded to the north coast of the harbour, and the crew, having imprudently ventured on shore to pick up shells, were attacked by a body of Bedouins from Beer Ahmed. One man was killed, and a boy wounded; the latter and another companion saved their lives by running round the coast to the Barrier Gate, while the remainder swam off to a water-boat, which happened to be near at hand. Shortly afterwards, a sepoy of the 3rd Madras light infantry was wounded by a fanatic named Seyed Boo Bekr, at the Barrier Gate; the intended assassin was shot by the sentry.

A.D. 1851.

On the 28th February, a party of officers from the Aden garrison proceeded to the interior, with the object of enjoying a few days' sport. It consisted of Captain Milne, the commissariat officer of Aden, Lieutenant McPherson, of H. M.'s 78th Highlanders, Lieutenants Ogilvie and Henchy, of the Madras Artillery, and Mr. Saulez. Lieutenant Cruttenden, the assistant political agent, accompanied the party to Láhej, and, having procured an escort from the sultan to attend upon them, returned to Aden. The party spent the next night at Wáhat, a village inhabited entirely by Seyeds, or descendants of the prophet, and here they most imprudently dismissed their guard. In the middle of the night, while all slept, a fanatic named Seyed Hoosain succeeded in gaining entrance to the court yard, where, for the sake of coolness, they had placed their beds. He mortally wounded Captain Milne, who died next day. Lieutenant McPherson was very severely, and Mr. Saulez slightly wounded, and the assassin effected his escape ere the other officers awoke. He first sought shelter in the Houshebi country, but the chief of that tribe refused to receive him, and he subsequently found refuge with Ahmed bin Abdulla, the Foudtheli Sultan.

A few days later, namely on the 27th of March, an armed man from Beer Ahmed contrived to evade the police at Steamer Point, and landed in Aden, with the intention, it was supposed, of assassinating the political agent, Captain

* This treaty, which is still in force, is given *in extenso* in Appendix C. *Vide* also Bombay Book of Treaties, p. 289.

Haines. The first European he met was Lieutenant Delisser, of H. M.'s 78th Highlanders, who was riding along the public road between the town and Steamer Point. The miscreant accosted him, as if to deliver a letter, and, ere he was aware that any treachery was meditated, succeeded in cutting the reins of his horse. Lieutenant Delisser dismounted and grappled with him, and, after having received several severe wounds, killed him with his own jembeea.* His body was subsequently hung in chains at the Barrier Gate, through which all the Arabs from the interior are obliged to pass on entering Aden.

On the 4th of June, in the same year, a sepoy of the 3rd Madras light infantry was wounded outside the Barrier Gate by a man from Beer Ahmed, who escaped; and on the 12th of July following, the mate and one seaman of the merchant vessel *Sons of Commerce*, which had been wrecked at Koobet Sailán, were murdered, and the wreck plundered by the subjects of the Sultan of Láhej. The remainder of the crew were brought into Aden in safety by a body of troops sent out for that purpose. The chief instigator of this outrage was a man named Es-Somli, who was seized by the Sultan of Láhej, and executed on the 27th October.

A.D. 1854. The pension of the Foudtheli chief was stopped from the date on which the murderer of Captain Milne found a refuge in his territories; and the port of Beer Ahmed was blockaded for the share which the inhabitants of that town had taken in the murder of the seaman of the *Auckland*. With the Abdali, however, the British were on the most intimate terms of friendship and alliance.

As a consequence of this, the combined Foudtheli and Akrabi were incessant in their depredation on the roads, and supplies were constantly stopped, to the great distress of the inhabitants and garrison of Aden, while the Sultan of Láhej was either unable or unwilling to protect the communication between Aden and the interior, and to repress the aggressions of his more warlike neighbours. The only means of punishing these troublesome tribes at the disposal of the political resident, debarred as he was from hostile operations, were speedily employed; the blockade of Beer Ahmed was rendered more stringent, the port of Shugra was included in it, and members of the offending clans were excluded from Aden. At the same time, friendly relations were formed with various powerful tribes in the vicinity of Aden, who were thereby detached from a threatened coalition with the Foudtheli against Sultan Ali.

A.D. 1855. Such was the state of affairs towards the end of A.D. 1855, at which time Sultan Ali suddenly came to terms with the Foudtheli, and the latter expressed an earnest desire to make peace

* Arab crease, or dagger.

with the British, declared that the murderer had been expelled from his country, and promised to respect and preserve the safety of the roads leading to Aden.

The political resident found it expedient to accept these advances, and so far to relax his hostility as to remove the blockade of Shugra, and permit the Foudthelies free access to Aden. The question of the restoration of the stipend was reserved until the sincerity of these protestations of peace had been further proved.

This partial arrangement of past differences was acceded to chiefly on behalf of Sultan Ali, who, moreover, was the principal mover in suggesting it; but no sooner did he see a prospect of an eventual peace between the Foudtheli and the English, than he used every artifice in his power to prevent, while he openly professed to promote it.

In the mean time, hostilities, which had been only temporarily suspended between the Abdali and the Foudtheli, were resumed, and the scheme for wresting Beer Ahmed from the Akrabi (the allies of the Foudtheli) by the combined Abdali and Oulaki, was matured; when, to the disgust of the last mentioned tribe, Sultan Ali virtually abandoned the project, by refusing to pay the sum which he had guaranteed as remuneration for their services.

Matters remained in this unsettled state between the belligerent parties till towards the middle of A.D. 1856, during which interval, however, the Foudtheli uniformly respected the roads leading to Aden, and limited their reprisals to the Abdali territory. About three months were spent in negotiations, which, towards the end of July, terminated in a peace between the Abdali and Foudtheli. This satisfactory result was communicated to the political resident by Sultan Ali, who, however, omitted no opportunity to instil into his mind doubts of the Foudtheli chief's good faith, and represented him as hopelessly refractory.

A.D. 1856.

Matters having been so far satisfactorily arranged, the political resident and his assistants accepted an invitation to Láhej, and the end of A.D. 1856 found the British free from any aggressions on the part of the neighbouring tribes.

The year A.D. 1857 opened rather inauspiciously; Sultan Ali took umbrage at a friendly visit paid to the political resident by his brother Abdulla, and his people at Sheikh Othman plundered a party of pilgrims who had been wrecked on the eastern side of the isthmus. Early in April, Sultan Ahmed bin Abdulla sought an interview with the head of the influential Aden family of Aidroos. The meeting took place at Beer Ahmed, and resulted in the renewal of friendly relations between the Foudtheli and the British, on which occasion the former abandoned all claims to the arrears of stipend; transmitted a bond, signed by unexceptional witnesses, that the murderer had been expelled, and should never again find

A.D. 1857.

shelter in his territories, and solemnly engaged to restrain his people from plundering on the roads, the security of which he pledged himself by every means in his power to maintain.

For eighteen months previous to this event, the Foudtheli had ceased to cause any annoyance to Aden, and not a case of plunder by his tribe had occurred on the roads, although during that time he had received no stipend. The only reason why so great a delay had occurred in his compliance with the demands made upon him was his objection to the mediation of Sultan Ali, and his distrust of that chief's sincerity and rectitude. For this reason, Sultan Ali's direct interference was not sought in the reconciliation with the Foudtheli, but he was fully apprised of the circumstances and conditions which effectuated it. The Akrabi soon after tendered their submission, and sued for friendship. These overtures were accepted, and thus an end was put to all the differences which had so long complicated the relations between the authorities of Aden and the neighbouring tribes.

The results of these measures left nothing to desire; the roads were open and secure, and supplies abundant, while the Foudtheli and Akrabi not only ceased from their depredations, but seemed to vie with each other in exhibiting their good feeling towards the British. Not so, however, the Abdali: on the contrary, Sultan Ali, unwarrantably discontented and chagrined that no scope was left for his intrigue between the English and their former enemies, commenced a vexatious system of annoyance, and persisted in it with such arrogance, insolence, and even menace, that, having expended every resource that policy, prudence, and kindness could dictate, and having carried forbearance to its utmost limits, it became evident to the political resident that more vigorous measures than had yet been employed would alone compel this troublesome chief to act up to his treaty obligations, and to abandon a line of policy which, while it militated against his own best interest, was of serious inconvenience to the British.

The aim of Sultan Ali throughout was transparent,—he wished to keep the other tribes at a distance from the British, in order that he alone might profit by their alliance; and to attain this object he spared neither fraud nor cunning, fearing lest such intimacy might injure his private interests, or diminish his consequence.

But it is necessary to resume the narrative of Sultan Ali's proceedings from April 1857. When foiled in his machinations to create dissensions between the English and the Foudtheli, he commenced an active course of antagonism, his object still being the same, namely to force the British to dissolve their friendship with the Foudtheli, and thereby to regain his former position, with all its facilities for interference and intrigue.

He first vented his malevolence in creating dissensions amongst the Azaiba (a sub-branch of the Abdali), whose chief, Sheikh Ali, had been uniform in his fidelity to the British, and who had been mainly instrumental in inducing the Foudtheli to sue for their friendship. Then came a vexatious imposition of an extortionate toll upon the wells of Sheikh Othman, from which the town and shipping of Aden were to a great extent dependent for water. This gave rise to a long correspondence, carried on by Sultan Ali in a tone of haughty contempt, and which was not finally settled until the British representative had threatened to stop his stipend, and the Government of Bombay had passed a severe censure on his conduct.

Towards the end of September, Sultan Ali reported that he had dispersed a band of marauding Subeiha who had been plundering near Sheikh Othman; but it subsequently appeared that he had himself instigated the outrage; in addition to which, his people were in the habit of plundering the supplies coming from Beer Ahmed to Aden, and all efforts to induce him to award compensation proved futile. His replies to the assertion of the political resident were a tissue of prevarication, recrimination, and subterfuge, under cover of which he abstained either from candidly admitting or positively denying the charges, but assumed throughout a tone of contemptuous insolence which expostulation served only to intensify.

About the middle of January, Sultan Ali wrote a kind of circular letter, copies of which were sent to the assistant political resident and several officers of the Aden garrison, one of whom was the Rev. Mr. Badger, a gentleman whose long residence in Aden, and whose thorough acquaintance with the Arabic language, and the Arab character, had deservedly gained for him a personal influence in the country.

A.D. 1858.

In this document, Sultan Ali charged the Aden residency with disregard of the treaty between him and the English, injustice, oppression, support of his enemies, &c., and concluded with the following remarkable menace: "Having made known all this, you are a witness on my behalf that I shall be blameless as respects your government; and having already written to our friend Lord Elphinstone and to Bombay, without having received any (direct) reply, I have decided to keep my people (from entering Aden), and to close my country until the government shall come to its senses."

Towards the beginning of February, the Foudtheli chief made three separate complaints that the Abdali had plundered his people on the road, and that on one of these occasions a man of his tribe had been killed. Restitution was sought from Sultan Ali, and a threat held out that such proceedings, persisted in, would ultimately lead to all communication being broken off between the British and himself. In reply, Sultan Ali excused the murder,

and characterised the plunder as a just retaliation on the Foudtheli for the forays of that tribe.

A few days later, another complaint was preferred against Sultan Ali, that he had seized a consignment of coffee, valued at Rs. 6,000, the property of a British subject on its way from the interior to Aden. His excuse for so doing was that he had a claim against the owner; whereas he is bound by treaty to refer such matters to the political resident for adjudication. This proceeding, therefore, constituted a flagrant outrage upon British property, and an insult upon British authority. The demand of the political resident was coupled with a final intimation, that unless restitution were made he should hold no further communication with him.

No restitution having been made by Sultan Ali, either for this or the previously detailed outrages, the political resident was compelled to break off all communication with him, and to discontinue the payment of his stipend.

The only reply vouchsafed by the Sultan to the communication of the political resident, announcing this resolution, was to prohibit the members of his tribe sending any supplies into Aden; he also seized several kafilahs of coffee and grain, the property of Aden merchants, after having exacted a transit duty upon them. Subsequently, about the beginning of March, he occupied in force the fort and village of Sheikh Othman, distant a few miles from the isthmus line of works, and so situated as to command all the roads leading into Aden. It was from this place that the garrison and shipping were to a great extent supplied with water; consequently, his first operation was to fill up all the wells, except such as were required for his own people.

This state of affairs could no longer be endured. The political resident having already exhausted every resource that the most anxious desire for peace could dictate, and it being apparent that, emboldened by long impunity, the Arabs had learnt to construe his kindness and forbearance as proofs of inferiority and weakness, stringent measures became an absolute necessity.

Accordingly, on the 18th of March, an adequate force of artillery and infantry, together with a party of seamen from the Honorable Company's vessels of war then in harbour, under the personal command of Brigadier Coghlan, political resident and commandant, marched against Sheikh Othman. The force was unopposed till it arrived within two miles of the village, when the Arabs opened fire under cover of the shrubs and hillocks where they had taken up their advanced position. The main body being halted, the enemy were dislodged from their cover by skirmishers sent out from both flanks, aided by the artillery and a small detachment of horse. This operation discovered about 500 men, under the command of Sultan Foudthel, the second brother of the Abdali chief, some on foot, but mostly mounted on camels, who disputed

the ground with obstinate bravery and considerable strategic skill, but in less than an hour gave way. Colonel Coghlan then advanced upon the fort and village, and found both almost entirely evacuated.

The garrison retired to some distance, and about 10 A.M., on being joined by considerable reinforcements from the direction of Láhej, spread themselves over the country, evidently intending to contest the further advance of the British in that direction. Shortly after, a parley was demanded, and three of the Abdali chiefs came forward, and solicited, on the part of Sultan Ali, that hostilities might cease, pledging themselves that all the resident's demands would be conceded, and that, if permitted, they would themselves enter Aden and arrange the particulars. These protestations, made apparently in good faith, were coupled with earnest professions of hope that the resident should not deem it necessary to remain any longer in hostile possession of their territory; so he acceded to their request, and, having blown up the fort and village of Sheikh Othman with the powder which was captured there, he returned to Aden without having sustained a single casualty. The loss on the side of the Arabs was reported at from thirty to forty.

On the following day, supplies began to pour into Aden in great abundance, and in a short time subsequently Sultan Foudthel arrived in Aden to settle the basis of a reconciliation; the political resident's demands were complied with; and there is every reason to believe that the severe blow which the late events have dealt against Sultan Ali's overweening self-importance will prove adequate, as well in chastisement of the past, as in checking his arrogance and hostility for the time to come; not indeed that perfect satisfaction can be expected in any future relations with this restless and intriguing chief, but it is not probable that, after the lesson he has received, he will lightly proceed to extremities which may lead to its repetition.

SUPPLEMENTARY CHAPTER.

EXPEDITION TO THE SOMALI COUNTRY.

Towards the close of A.D. 1854 an expedition was organised at Aden, under the auspices of the Government of Bombay, for the purpose of exploring that portion of North-East Africa between Berbera and Zanzibar. The conduct of it was entrusted to Lieutenant Burton, of the Bombay Army, with whom were associated Lieutenant Herne, 1st Bombay Fusiliers, Lieutenant Stroyan, of the Indian Navy, and Lieutenant Speke, of the Bengal Army.

A.D. 1854.

Lieutenant Burton successfully accomplished a preliminary journey to Hurrur, which had never before been visited by any European.* Lieutenant Speke penetrated into the country of the Warasingali tribe of Somálies, and Lieutenants Herne and Stroyan remained at Berbera during the annual fair, to acquire information regarding that port. All four met at Berbera in April 1855, with the intention of accompanying the return kafilah inland to Ogáden.

The fair at Berbera terminated on the 15th of April, and the last inhabitants of that late populous town proceeded into the interior; but the travellers delayed at Berbera, in the expectation of receiving their letters from England by the mid-monthly mail, but which had been unaccountably delayed between Aden and Berbera. On the 18th, a buggalow entered the creek, and the nacoda and crew were entertained by the expedition, which, most providentially as it turned out, detained the vessel all night in the harbour.

A.D. 1855.

During the afternoon of the same day, three men visited the camp, palpably as spies, and, as such, the officers of the expedition were warned against them by their native attendants. Heedless of this warning, they retired to rest at night, in the fullest confidence of security, and without having taken any extra or even ordinary measures to guard against surprise.

About 2 A. M. on the following morning, the expedition was attacked by a body of from 150 to 200 well-armed Somálies, chiefly of the Esa Moosa tribe, at whose approach the servants, with a very few exceptions, took to flight, leaving their masters to defend themselves as they best could. Lieutenant

* This is described in Captain Burton's work—"First Footsteps in Eastern Africa."

Stroyan was killed ere he could reach his arms; Lieutenant Burton was wounded by a spear, which passed through his cheeks, dividing the palate; Lieutenant Speke was taken prisoner, severely wounded in several places, and escaped almost by a miracle; Lieutenant Herne alone remained unscathed.

The entire property and baggage of the expedition were plundered, and the surviving officers, with the few servants who remained faithful to them, found refuge in the buggalow, carrying with them the remains of their slaughtered comrade, which they committed to the deep during their passage to Aden.

So sudden and unexpected had been the attack, that the officers were quite unable to make any defence—each seized what weapon chance threw in his way; but not only were they unable to repulse their assailants, they did not even cause serious loss to the attacking party,—one or two of the Somálies were wounded, but no lives lost.

The cause of this attack was mainly the hope of plunder, but partly, doubtless, suspicion of the travellers' motives in remaining at Berbera after it had been deserted by the tribes. In consequence of this unprovoked outrage, a demand was made on the elders of the Habr Owel tribe for the surrender of the principal instigators of the attack, who were well known by name. This was enforced by a rigid blockade of their coast from Siarrah to Jebel Elmas, which stopped the entire trade of Berbera during the season 1855-56, thus inflicting a severe punishment on the offending tribe, without materially affecting the trade of Aden, as other resources, until then in a great measure undeveloped, compensated for the loss of this mart.

The elders of the tribe showed every disposition to comply with the demand made upon them, but they were really unable to do so, to the full extent: most of the offenders escaped to other tribes, and thus were beyond their reach; one man, who bore the mark of a gunshot wound on his back, was sent to Aden a prisoner. At last Government, satisfied that all had been done which was within the power of the tribe, consented to the withdrawal of the blockade, upon certain conditions, which were embodied in a treaty, and in November 1856 the blockading vessel was recalled.*

A.D. 1856.

* This treaty is contained in Appendix D.

APPENDIX A.

CHRONOLOGICAL TABLE OF THE IMA'MS OF SANÄA.

Name.	Title.	Commenced to Reign.	Ceased to Reign.	Nature of Casualty.
Kássim	El-Kebeer	1630	..	Died.
Ismäil ibn Kássim	Metawakkil Ala Ullah	..	1668	Died.
Ahmed	El-Mejd Billah	1668	1675	Died.
Mahommed ibn Hoosain	El-Mehdi Hádi	1675	1677	Deposed.
Mahommed ibn Ahmed	El-Mehdi	1677	1707	Deposed.
Mahommed ibn Hassan	Ęn-Násr	1707	1708	Deposed.
Kássim ibn Hoosain	El-Metawakkil	1708	1719	Died.
Hoosain ibn Kássim	El-Mansoor	1719	1740	Died.
Abbas ibn Hoosain	El-Mehdi	1740	1774	Died.
Ali ibn Abbas	El-Mansoor	1774	1809	Died.
Ahmed ibn Ali	El-Metawakkil	1809	1817	Died.
Abdulla ibn Ahmed	El-Mehdi	1817	1834	Died.
Ali ibn Abdulla	El-Mansoor	1834	1837	Deposed.
Abdulla ibn Mahommed	En-Násr	1837	1840	Killed.
Mahommed ibn Ahmed	El-Hádi	1840	1844	Died.
Ali ibn Abdulla*	El-Mansoor	1844	1845	Deposed.
Mahommed ibn Yehia	El-Metawakkil	1845	1849	Killed.
Ali ibn Abdulla†	El-Mansoor	1849	1849	Deposed.
Ghálib ibn Mahommed	El-Hádi	1849	..	

* Second time of election.

† Third time of election; he is still alive.

APPENDIX B.

CHRONOLOGICAL TABLE OF THE SULTANS OF LA'HEJ, FROM THE PERIOD OF THEIR INDEPENDENCE TO THE PRESENT TIME.

Names.	Commenced to Reign.	Ceased to Reign.	Nature of Casualty.
Foudthel bin Ali bin Foudthel bin Sáleh bin Sálim	1728	1742	Killed.
Abd-el-Kereem bin Foudthel	1742	1753	Died.
Abd-el-Hádi bin Abd-el-Kereem	1753	1777	Died.
Foudthel bin Abd-el-Kereem.....	1777	1792	Died.
Ahmed bin Abd-el-Kereem	1792	1827	Died.
Mahsin bin Foudthel bin Abd-el-Kereem.....	1827	1847	Died.
Ahmed bin Mahsin	1847	1849	Died.
Ali bin Mahsin	1849	The present chief.	

APPENDIX C.

TREATY CONCLUDED BETWEEN THE HONORABLE EAST INDIA COMPANY AND SULTAN ALI MAHSIN FOUDTHEL, OF LA'HEJ (ADEN), UNDER DATE THE 7TH MAY 1849, AND NOW EXISTING.

To secure commercial advantages, with friendly intercourse, good-will, and lasting peace to both powers, this treaty is made, ageed to, sealed, and signed by those possessing full power and authority, viz. SULTAN ALI ibn MAHSIN FOUDTHEL, for himself, his heirs, and successors, also for the Azeibee and Selámee tribes, and all other tribes and divisions of tribes under his government, authority, or control, and STAFFORD BETTESWORTH HAINES, Esquire, Captain in the Indian Navy, and political agent, Aden, being invested with full power so to do, from the Right Honorable the GOVERNOR GENERAL OF INDIA, but it must be subject to the final ratification of the Government of India.—[Ratified 30th October 1849.]

INASMUCH as peace and commercial intercourse and prosperity is good and desirable among all nations, and particularly advantageous to the powers above named, the Sultan Ali Mahsin Foudthel, of Láhej, in the name of himself, heirs, successors, and all tribes under his government, control, and authority, and Captain Stafford Bettesworth Haines, on the part of the Right Honorable the Governor General of India, make this agreement—that between the two governments shall exist a firm and lasting friendship, and shall never be broken; and both parties agree to, and ratify under seal and signature, the following articles:—

ARTICLE I.—In consideration of the respect due to the British Government, Sultan Ali Mahsin Foudthel binds himself to secure to the rightful owners all ground, household or other property, that may be within the limits of his territory, belonging to the British subjects of Aden, and that their persons or agents shall be safe and respected, should they proceed inland to look after and collect the rents of such property, or for any other correct purpose.

ARTICLE II.—Sultan Ali Mahsin Foudthel engages to permit British subjects, and all inhabitants of Aden, to visit Láhej or any part of his territory, for either commercial purposes or pleasure excursions. He will ensure them

protection, and full toleration of religion, with the exception of burning the dead.

ARTICLE III.—Should any British subject become amenable to the law, he is to be made over for trial and punishment to the authorities at Aden.

ARTICLE IV.—British subjects may, with the permission of the Sultan of Láhej, hold in tenure land at Láhej, or other towns or villages in his territory, subject to his law; and in like manner may the ryots of the Sultan of Láhej hold property in Aden, subject to British law and jurisdiction.

ARTICLE V.—The bridge of Khore Muksa, and the plain between it and the mountains of Aden, forming the isthmus, is British property, and no further north.

ARTICLE VI.—Sultan Ali Mahsin Foudthel binds himself to keep the roads leading to Aden clear of plundering parties, and protect all merchandise passing through his territory, punishing, if in his power, all who plunder, molest, or injure others.

ARTICLE VII.—Such articles as the Sultan of Láhej may personally require for his own household shall pass Aden free of all custom-duty, and in like manner all government property shall pass the territories of the Sultan free from transit duty.*

The Sultan of Lahej binds himself to levy only the following transit duties within his territory upon all goods passing into Aden from the hills, viz., belonging to British subjects,—

Wheat, Jowaree, Flour, Ghee, Grapes, and fruits of all kinds, Honey, Foah, Dholl, Senna, Gums frankincense, Worruss, Coffee, Khâat	Two per cent. upon inland value.
Vegetables, Wood, Grass and kirby	Free of duty, being the growth of the Abdali territory.

* So much of this article as regards duty charged on goods exported from Aden has been virtually abrogated, by Aden being declared a free port.

And two per cent. upon all articles not enumerated.

Articles passing out from Aden into his territory:—

Outub cotton	Two per cent.
Snuff	
Pepper	
White and cotton cloths	
Iron and lead	
Hookas	
Dates	

And two per cent. on all articles not enumerated.

ARTICLE VIII.—Sultan Ali Mahsin Foudthel binds himself to encourage the growth of all kinds of European and Native vegetables for the Aden market.

ARTICLE IX.—Sultan Ali Mahsin Foudthel most solemnly attests the religious sincerity of this agreement, and moreover declares, that in all things relating to the peace, progress, and prosperity of Aden, he will lend his utmost aid to support the interest of the British, and will listen to, and, if possible, attend to the advice of the British Government representative in Aden in all matters.

ARTICLE X.—Sultan Ali Mahsin Foudthel further binds himself by oath, that should any breach of faith, or trespass on the aforesaid bond, either as concerning himself, children, relatives, chiefs, or any other person or persons of his tribe, or those in authority under him, or in his pay, or by any means connected with his government, or under his jurisdiction, or should one or any one of the aforesaid persons be in any manner convicted of having been privy to, or accessory to such breach of faith, or trespass on the treaty, or of committing any act of plunder on the roads leading to Aden through his territory, to take the whole responsibility on himself, and to be answerable to the British Government. Further, if he, or any other above mentioned, either openly, or by secret machination, protect any offender, and do not render entire satisfaction to the British, and for any breach of the above articles, he freely and solemnly swears to relinquish all claims to the salary (hereafter mentioned) granted by the Right Honorable the Governor General of India, and declares himself a perjured man.

ARTICLE XI.—Stafford Bettesworth Haines, Captain in the Indian Navy, and political agent at Aden, being duly authorised, does hereby solemnly promise, in the name of the Right Honorable the Governor General of India, to pay to Sultan Ali Mahsin Foudthel, his heirs and successors, the sum of five hundred and forty-one German crowns per month, so long as he or they

continue to act with sincerity, truth, and friendship towards the British, and in every respect strictly adhering to the terms of this treaty.

This Treaty is concluded and agreed to, this Seventh day of May, in the year of Our Lord One thousand Eight hundred and Forty-nine.

In witness whereof, we have set our seal and signature.

Seal of the Sultan of Láhej.

(Signed) ALI MAHSIN FOUDTHEL.

Seal.

(Signed) STAFFORD BETTESWORTH HAINES, Captain Indian Navy, and Political Agent at Aden.

Seal.

(Signed) DALHOUSIE.

MEMORANDUM.—*This treaty was ratified by the Right Honorable the Governor General of India on the 30th October* 1849.

APPENDIX D.

ARTICLES OF PEACE AND FRIENDSHIP, CONCLUDED BETWEEN THE HABR OWEL TRIBE OF SOMA'LIES ON THE ONE PART, AND BRIGADIER WILLIAM MARCUS COGHLAN, POLITICAL RESIDENT AT ADEN, ON BEHALF OF THE HONORABLE EAST INDIA COMPANY, ON THE OTHER.

WHEREAS, on the 19th of April 1855 (corresponding with the 1st of Shában, 1271), a treacherous attack and murder was perpetrated at the port of Berbera, by a party of the Habr Owel tribe, upon a party of British officers about to travel in that country, with the consent, and under the protection of the elders of the tribe, in consequence of which outrage, certain demands were made by the Government of India, and enforced by a blockade of the Habr Owel coast; and whereas it has become apparent, that the said tribe has fulfilled those conditions to the utmost of its ability, and has prayed to be relieved from the blockade;—therefore it is agreed,—

I.—That the elders of the Habr Owel will use their best endeavours to deliver up Ou Ali, the murderer of Lieutenant Stroyan.

II.—That, until this be accomplished, the sub-tribe Esa Moosa, which now shelters, and any other tribe which may hereafter shelter, harbour, or protect the said Ou Ali, shall be debarred from coming to Aden.

III.—That all vessels sailing under the British flag shall have free permission to trade at the port of Berbera, or at any other place in the territories of the Habr Owel, and that all British subjects shall enjoy perfect safety in every part of the said territories, and shall be permitted to trade, or travel there under the protection of the elders of the tribe. In like manner shall the members of the Habr Owel tribe enjoy similar privileges at Aden, or in any other part of the British possessions.

IV.—The traffic in slaves throughout the Habr Owel territories, including the port of Berbera, shall cease for ever; and any slave or slaves who, contrary to this engagement, shall be introduced into the said territories, shall be delivered up to the British, and the commander of any vessel of Her Majesty's

or the Honorable East India Company's navy, shall have the power of demanding the surrender of such slave or slaves, and of supporting the demand by force of arms, if necessary.

V.—The political resident at Aden shall have the power to send an agent to reside at Berbera during the season of the fair, should he deem such a course necessary, to see that the provisions of this agreement are observed; and such agent shall be treated with the respect and consideration due to the representative of the British Government.

VI.—That on a solemn promise being given by the elders of the Habr Owel faithfully to abide by the articles of this agreement, and to cause the rest of the tribe to do so likewise, and to deliver up to the political resident at Aden any party who may violate it, the blockade of the Habr Owel coast shall be raised, and perpetual peace and friendship shall exist between the British and the Habr Owel.

Done at Berbera, this Seventh day of November, One thousand Eight hundred and Fifty-six of the Christian Era (corresponding with the Eighth day of Rabea-el-Owel, One thousand Two hundred and Seventy-two of the Hejira).

Mahommed Arra'leh	Ayal Yoonus.
Ahmed Ali Bookeri	
Noor Fa'rrah	
Ahmed Gha'lid	Ayal Ahmed.
Mahommed Wa'is	
Muggan Mahommed	
Rooblie Hassan	Makáhíl.
Ateyah Hilde'r	
Farrah Beni'n	
Awadth Shermarkie	Ayal Hamood.

Signed in my presence at Berbera on the 7th November 1856.

(Signed) R. L. Playfair,
Assistant Political Resident, Aden.

(Signed) W. M. Coghlan,
Political Resident.

Aden, 9th November 1856.

Ratified by the Right Honorable the Governor General of India in Council, at Fort William, this 23rd day of January 1857.

(Signed) Canning,
And Five Members of Council of India.

APPENDIX E.

ENGAGEMENT CONCLUDED BETWEEN BRIGADIER WILLIAM MARCUS COGHLAN, POLITICAL RESIDENT, ADEN, AND VARIOUS CHIEFS AND ELDERS ON THE COASTS OF ARABIA AND AFRICA, DURING 1856.

INFLUENCED by motives of humanity, and by a desire to conform to the principles on which the great English Government is conducted, we lend a willing ear to the proposals of our sincere friend, Brigadier WILLIAM MARCUS COGHLAN, Political Resident at Aden, that we should covenant with him and with each other, to abolish and prohibit the exportation of Slaves from any one part of Africa to any other place in Africa, or Asia, or elsewhere under our authority.

We, whose names and seals are set to this bond, do therefore, in the sight of God and of men, solemnly proclaim our intention to prohibit the exportation of Slaves from Africa by every means in our power: we will export none ourselves, nor permit our subjects to do so; and any vessel found carrying Slaves shall be seized and confiscated, and the Slaves shall be released.

Signed by MANASSIR bin Boo BEKER, Sultan of the Oulaki Tribe, and the Chiefs of his Tribe;

and by the Elders of the following Ports on the African Coast:—

1, Mait.	2, Hais.	3, Rakoda.
4, Unkor.	5, Kurrem.	6, Ain Tarad.

INDEX.

Ababeel, 70.

Abdali tribe, 33; proclaim their independence, 159.—See *Sultan of Láhej*.

Abd-el-Azeez, 127.

Abd-el-Mansoor Yoosuf, reign of, 94.

Abd-el-Hakál.—See *Aboo-Nookta*.

Abd-el-Motalib, 70; visits Sanäa, 75.

Abd-el-Waháb, 127.

Abd-er-Rub, proclaims himself chief of Hajereea, 117; Imám of Sanäa and Sultan of Láhej form a league against him, *idem*; he invades Láhej, 117, 159; the Imám invites his co-operation against Ta'ez, which falls to his arms, 118; ignominious treatment and murder of, 118.

Abdhäa, reign of, 56.

Abd Kelál, reign of, 56.

Abdulla ibn Abbas, Viceroy of Yemen, 82.

Abdulla, son of Thámmir, 63.

Abien, district of, 35.

Aboo-Areesh, district of, 35; becomes independent, 119.

Aboo Kárib, reign of, 52.

Aboo Málik, reign of, 49.

Aboo-Nookta, 127; over-runs coast of Yemen, 128; attacks Shereef of Aboo-Areesh, by whom he is defeated, 129.

Abrahá-el-Ashram, viceroyalty of, 67; stratagem to appease the wrath of Negashi, 68; endeavours to divert the pilgrimage from Mecca to Sanäa, 69; invades the Hejáz, 70; destruction of his Army, *idem*; death of, 71.

Abrahá, son of Sabbah, reign of, 60.

Abraham, son of Euphrasius, 64.

Abyssinia, introduction of Christianity into, 57.

Abyssinians, invasion of Yemen by, prophesied, 53; encroachments of, in Yemen, 60; invasion of Yemen by, 65; overthrown by Persians, 74; persecution of, by Mäadi Kárib, 76.

Aden, description of, 5; ancient reservoir at, 6; aqueduct to, 8; climate of, 9; diseases of, *idem*; ancient importance of, 10; present condition of, 12; trade of, 12; antiquities of, 12; defences of, 13; population of, *idem*; church built at, in the fourth century, 59; Persian army lands at, 73; visited by Ikrama, 81; conquered by Zehereyáh, 85; attacked by Ibn Omar, 86; taken by Billál bin Yerrie, 87; Mahommed bin Saba appointed Governor, *idem*; surrenders to Hátem ibn Ahmed, *idem*; taken by Ibrahim ibn Muzuffer, 89; unsuccessfully besieged by Ali bin Daood, 91; taken by Ali and Aumi, 94; visited by Covilham, 96; by Barthema, 96; besieged by Albuquerque, 98, 99; by Rais Suleiman, who was repulsed, 99; Governor offers to surrender to Portuguese, *idem*; Portuguese demand surrender, which is refused, 100; taken by Suleiman Pasha, 101; again visited by him, 102; inhabitants rebel against the Turks, and make the place over to the Portuguese, 104; recovered by Capudán of Egypt, *idem*; visited by Captain Sharpey, 105; by Captain Doveton, 108; by Van den Broeck, *idem*; Sultan of, forms a treaty with Sir Home Popham, 126; Turkish mission massacred at, 143; taken by Sultan of Láhej, 159; stormed by Azab Mukki, *idem*; selected as a coal depôt, 161; sacked by the Foudthelies, *idem*; ceded to the British, 162; the Sultan refuses to fulfil his engagement, and Aden is taken by the British, 163; rapid increase of, 164; first attack on, by the Arabs, *idem*; second attack, *idem*; third attack, 166; attacked by Seyed Ismail, 167.

Ædesius, captivity of, 58.

Ahmed bin Aidán, murder of, 166; pension granted to family of, 167.

Ahmed bin Kássim holds Ta'ez against the Imám, 115; his death, and the subjugation of his son, 118.
Ahmed bin Suleiman, Imám, reign of, 87.
Akrabi tribe, 34; enter into engagement of peace with the British, 164; good faith of, 165; atrocities committed by, 169; come to terms with British, 172.
Albuquerque, Don Alphonso de, takes Muscat and Curia Muria islands, 98; sent to the Red Sea, *idem;* ineffectual attempt to capture Aden, *idem.*
Ali ibn Aboo Thálib, expedition of, into Yemen, 79; succeeds to the Kalifate, 82; reduces the partisans of Ayesha, 83; his death, 84.
Ali Däood, reign of, 90.
Ali bin Meyethel, besieges Aboo-Areesh, 142; assists in expelling Turkchee Bilmas from Mokha, 143.
Alkáma Dthoo Keefán, 65.
Amooda, son of Abrahá, 68.
Amrán, town of, 30, 37.
Amr Dthoo-el-Awád, reign of, 55.
Amr Dthoo Keefán, reign of, 61.
Amr Mozaikiyeh, reign of, 50.
Anowshirwán, 72; sends a force to Yemen, 73.
Arabia, general divisions of, 1; early commerce of, 49; introduction of Christianity into, 57; tenders allegiance to Selim I., 100.
Aretus, son of Caleb, 63.
Aryat, invades Yemen, 65; confirmed as viceroy, 67; death of, *idem.*
Asäad Yáfoor, reign of, 85.
Asalah, town of, 35.
Ascension, voyage of the, 105.
Aseer, Beni, over-run the Tehámа, 128; expelled by Egyptian army, 144; attack Hodaida, 157; attacked by cholera and retreat, 158.
Ashraf ibn Muzuffer, reign of, 89.
Aswad, el, usurpation of, 79.
Athanasius, St., 58.
Auckland, H. E. I. C. S., murder of seaman of, 169.
Azaiba tribe, enter into treaty with British, 164.
Bab, island in the Koobet Kharab, ceded to the British, 165.
Bab-el-Mandeb, strait of, 19; cape of, *idem.*
Badám tree, 34.
Bait-el-Fukeeh, city of, 26; taken by the Aseer, 126.
Bait Kibsee, village of, 40.
Bait Rájeh, village of, 40.
Balkees, throne of, 30; palace of, 42; reign of, 47.
Barakát ibn Mahommed, Shereef of Mecca, 99, 103.
Barthema, travels of, in Yemen, 96.
Bartholomew, St., 57.
Báshir ibn Artch, over-runs the Hejáz and Yemen, 83; slaughters the sons of Abdulla ibn Abbas, *idem;* cursed by Ali, 84; his death, *idem.*
Beer Ahmed, 34; attacked by Abdali and Foudtheli, 165; blockaded by British, 170.
Beer Amhait.—See *Beer Hameed.*
Beer-el-Asáb, 27.
Beer Hameed, 98, 166.
Beeb, el, city of, 51.
Beáld-el-Jof, 41.
Belád-el-Kabáil.—See *Háshid wa Bakeel.*
Beni Hallál, 38.
Beni Haneefa, 55.
Beni Yam, extraordinary custom amongst, 40.
Berbera, description of, 100 *n.;* attack on British expedition at, 176; treaty with chief of, 184.
Bostán-el-Metawakkil, palace of, 9[illegible]
Budhán, Persian viceroy of Yemen, 77; tenders his allegiance to Mahommed, 78; death of, 80.
Cannibalism, son of Sultan of Sanäa said to have been addicted to, 97.
China, invasion of, by Shammir, 48.
Christianity, embraced by Tobba Abd-Kellál, 56; by Márthád, 59; at Nejrán, 62, 77; progress of, under Abrahá, 69; introduction of, into Arabia, 53; into Abyssinia, 57.
Christians, persecution of, 62; form an alliance with Mahommed, 78.
Coffee, discovery of, 20; cultivation of, 31.
Commerce of the ancients in the Red Sea, 49; of the British in 1801, 123.
Constantius, embassy sent by, to Yemen, 59.
Covilham, mission of, to Abyssinia, 96.
Cruttenden, Mr., visits Sanäa, 144.
Curia Muria islands, 18; taken by Albuquerque, 98; ceded to the British, 18.
Danish expedition to Yemen, 120.
Dáood, reign of, 90.
Dellisser, Lieutenant, attempt to murder, 170.
Deria Dowlat, wreck of, at Aden, 161.

Dimlooha, town of, 32.
Dominicetti, Lieutenant, outrage on, at Mokha, 134; reparation for, 135.
Doos Dthoo Thalibán, 64.
Doraib, Seyed Abdulla, murder of, 142.
Dorán, town of, 30.
Dowla of a province, 112.
Dthafár, church built at, 59.
Dthamár, city of, 30.
Dthoo Habshán, reign of, 51.
Dthoo Jadán, reign of, 65.
Dthoo'l-Adhár, reign of, 46.
Dthoo'l-Käá, Governor of Aden, 86.
Dthoo Mahommed and Dthoo Hoosain tribes, 37.
Dthoo Nowás kills Lakhnia Tanoof, 61; proclaimed sovereign of Yemen, 62; massacres Christians at Nejrán, 63; death of, 65.
Dthoo Shenátir, 61.
Dutch expedition to Yemen, 108; factory at Mokha, 113.
Ebnäa, race called, 77.
Egyptian troops evacuate Yemen, 146.
Eibát, island of, 18; ceded to British, 165.
Elliott, Mr., death of, at Sanäa, 126.
Embassy of Constantius to Yemen, 59; of Justin I. to Heera, 64; of Emperor of Abyssinia to Florence, 96; of Helena, Queen of Abyssinia, to Lisbon, 98; of Duarte Galvan to Abyssinia, 99; of Suleiman Pasha to Zebeed, 102; of Mahommed Ali to Sanäa, 146; of Sir Home Popham to Arabia, 123.
Finlay, Dr., visits Sanäa, 140.
Foudtheli tribe, 35, 36; enter into engagement of friendship with British, 164; chief murders Ahmed Aidán, 166; coast of, blockaded by British, 167, 168, 170; harbour the murderer of Captain Milne, 169; pension stopped, 170; come to terms with British, 171.
French, first visit of, to Yemen, 113; second voyage of, 114; misunderstanding with Dowla of Mokha, 116; bombard Mokha, 116.
Frumentius, 58.
Fukée Saeed, rebellion of, 147; death of, 148.
Fumiyoon, 62, 63.
Gallus, Ælius, expedition of, into Arabia, 45.
Gama, Don Stephano de, expedition of, to Red Sea, 103.
Ghalifica, Abyssinian army land at, 65; description of, 65 *n.*
Ghárra, town of, 43.
Ghasána, village of, 25.
Ghauri, el, Sultan of Egypt, sends an expedition to Red Sea, 97.
Ghoomdán, castle of, 30, 61; festivities in, 74.
Government of Imáms of Sanäa, 112.
Gregentius, St., 68; disputation of, 69.
Haines, Captain, I. N., surveys coast of Arabia, 161; sent as Commissioner to Aden, 162; obtains cession of Aden, *idem.*
Häis, town of, 32.
Hajereea, district of, 32.
Hárith, son of Amr, reign of, 59.
Háshid-wa-Bakeel, 37.
Hassan Dthoo Mooáhir, reign of, 61.
Hassan Tobba, reign of, 54.
Hátim ibn Ahmed, reign of, 87.
Heera, foundation of Lakhamite dynasty in, 54; embassy to, 64.
Hejira, commencement of, 78.
Hejáz, invasion of, by Aboo Karib, 52.
Herbanus, disputation of, 69.
Himyarite dynasty, origin of name, 45; overthrow of, 66; restoration of, 74; final extinction of, 76.
Hodáida, city of, 23; plundered by the Aseeri, 128; taken by Turkchee Bilmás, 142; by Shereef Hoosain, 146; attacked by the Aseeri, 157.
Hodhád, reign of, 47.
Hormuzd, church built at, 59.
Horzád.—See *Wahráz.*
Horor, town of, 43.
Houshabi tribe, 36; refuse to harbour the murderer of Captain Milne, 169.
Howta.—See *Láhej.*
Ibb, city of, 31.
Ibrahim Pasha, takes command of the army of Arabia, 133; tyrannical conduct of, *idem.*
Ikrama, sent against Mosáilma, 81; against Mahra, *idem.*
Imám, Kássim-el-Kebeer, 111; MetawakkilAla, Ullah Ismail, 112; El-Mejd Billah Ahmed, *idem;* El-Hádi Mahommed ibn Hoosain, *idem;* El-Metawakkil Kássim ibn Hoosain, 113; death of, 115; El-Mehdi Mahommed ibn Ahmed, 112, 113; description of, 114; El-Mansoor Hoosainibn Kássim, 115; death of, 116; El-Mejd Mahommed

Ishák, usurpation of, 115; El-Mehdi Abbás, 116; his treachery towards Abd-er-Rub, 118; conspiracy against him, 119; Neibuhr's description of, 120; death of, 122; El-Mansoor Ali, 122; weakness of his government, 126; described by Lord Valentia, 128; deposed by his son, 129; his death, *idem;* El-Metawakkil Ahmed, 130; death of, 134; El-Mehdi Abdulla, 134; description of, 140; death of, 144; El-Mansoor Ali, description of, *idem;* first deposition of, 146; again elected, 150; attempts to recover the Teháma, *idem;* second deposition of, 152; again elected and deposed by Ghálib, 155; En-Násr Abdulla, 146; murder of, *idem;* El-Hádi Mahommed, *idem;* sends mission to Aden, 148, 149, 150; his death, 150; El-Metawakkil Mahommed Yehia, 152; attacks Shereef Hoosain, *idem;* captures various towns in the Teháma, 153; murdered by Ali Mansoor, 155; El-Hádi Ghálib, 155.

Imáms of Sanäa, 29, 111; revenue of, in 1764, 120; chronological table of, 178.

Ismail bin Ismail, reign of, 93.

Jadees.—See *Tasm.*

Jálea, plunders treasury of Yemen, 28.

Jáwallah, town of, 32.

Jennád, town of, 32.

Jeráf, town of, 29.

Jewish Tobbas, intolerance of, 62, 66.

Jews of Yemen, description of, 16; number in Sanäa, 28; present state of, 155.

Jezán, town of, 24, 38.

Jibleh, town of, 31.

Jof.—See *Belád-el-Jof.*

Judaism, legend of introduction of, into Yemen, 52; under Dthoo Nowás, 62.

Justin I., sends an embassy to Heera, 64; instigates the King of Abyssinia to conquer Yemen, 65.

Käaba of Mecca, 52; first covered with tapestry, 53.

Kahtán, district of, 40.

Kálifs, first four, 82; of the house of Omiyah, Abbas, and Karami, 84; lieutenants of, assume regal sway, 85.

Kali Kárib, reign of, 51.

Kamarán, island of, 24; visited by Albuquerque, 99; by Sourez, 100; by Suleimán Pasha, 102.

Kássim-el-Kebeer, reign of, 111.

Kássim ibn Hoosain, victories of, against the Háshid-wa-Bakeel, 113; proclaimed Imám-el-Metawakkil, 113.

Kát, 20 *n*, 32.

Káttaba, town of, 31.

Kaukebán, district of, 37.

Kesra Anowshirwán.—See *Anowshirwán.*

Kesra Parweez orders his viceroy in Yemen to send him the head of Mahommed, 78.

Khádim race, description of, 15, 77 *n*.

Khaibán, 37.

Kháiran, town of, 31.

Khálid ibn Wálid sent against Mosailma, 81.

Kharaz Jebel, 35.

Khateeb family, massacre of, 165; restitution to, 167.

Khaulán, east, 40; west, 39.

Khore, el, town of, 35.

Kishr, 28.

Kohl, or collyrium, first used in Yemen, 55.

Konfoda, defeat of Egyptians at, 132; taken by the Egyptians, 133.

Koraizha, tribe of, 52.

Lakhnia Tanoof, reign of, 61.

Láhej district, 33; town of, *idem;* captured by Ali bin Abd-el-Káder, 86; by Abd-er-Rub, 117, 159; visited by Mr. Salt, 160; by Brig. Coghlan, 171.—See *Sultan of Láhej.*

Liars, the.—See *Mosailma* and *Aswad.*

Lohaia, city of, 24; plundered by the Aseeri, 128; taken by the Egyptians, 133; evacuated by the Egyptians, 134.

Mäadi Kárib, birth of, 68; goes to Constantinople, 72; solicits aid from Anowshirwán, 73; invades Yemen, *idem;* made viceroy, 74; entertains deputies from Mecca, 75; death of, 76.

Mahommed, flight of, 78; invites the neighbouring princes to embrace his religion, *idem;* divides the government of Yemen, 80; his reply to Mosailma, *idem;* successors, 82.

Mahommed Ali, takes up arms against the Wahábies, 130; his views regarding Yemen, 131; sends a force against Konfoda, which is defeated, 132; restores to the Imám his last provinces, 134; sends an embassy to Sanäa, 146.

Mahommed ibn Hassan, usurpation of, 113.

Mahomedanism, introduction of, into Yemen, 78.

Mail worn by Arabs, 41.
Mait, description of, 100 *n*; visited by Portuguese, 100; by Van den Broeck, 108.
Makhádera, town of, 32.
Makulla, selected as a coal depôt, 161.
Máreb, ancient city of, 41; dam of, 41, 47; restoration of dam by Balkees, 47; destruction of dam, 50.
Mariaba, city of, 46.
Marthád, reign of, 59.
Marthád, son of Dthoo Jadán, 65.
Masrook, viceroyalty of, 72; death of, 74.
Massacre of Nejrán, 63; of Abyssinians in Yemen, 76; by Báshir ibn Arteb, 83.
Massáh islands, 18; ceded to British, 165.
Mayoon, 73.—See *Perim*.
Mecca, visit of Aboo Karib to, 52.—See *Käaba*.
Mehdi-el-Montether.—See *Fukee Saeed*.
Melek-el-Afdthal Ismail, reign of, 92.
Melek-el-Ashraf, reign of, 92.
Melek-el-Ashraf Ismail, reign of, 93.
Melek-el-Mansoor Abd-el-Wahâb, reign of, 95, 97.
Melek-el-Mansoor Abdulla, reign of, 93.
Melek-el-Mujáhid Ali, reign of, 90.
Melek Násr Ahmed, reign of, 92.
Memlook power in Egypt overthrown, 100.
Meropius, murder of, 57.
Merveille, M. de, visit of, to Yemen, 113.
Meteoric shower at Mokha, 142.
Middleton, voyage of Sir Henry, to Red Sea, 105; treacherous attack on, 106; sent prisoner to Sanäa, 107; released, *idem*; exacts an indemnity, 108.
Milne, Captain, murder of, 169.
Moáwiyah ibn Ali Sofian proclaims himself Kálif, 83.
Mokha, city of, 19; visited by Albuquerque, 98; by Suleiman Pasha, 102; by Captain Sharpey, 105; by Sir H. Middleton, *idem*; by Captain Saris, 108; by Van den Broeck, 109; by Captain Shilling, 110; attack on British factory at, 121; retribution exacted, 122; governor of, refuses to recognise the deposition of Ali Mansoor, 129; makes his peace at court, 130; outrage on Lieutenant Dominicetti at, 134; course pursued by Government of India, 135; expedition against, 136; bombardment of, 137; demands of British, 139; taken by Turkchee Bilmás, 142; retaken by Egyptian and Aseeri forces, 143; taken by Shereef Hoosain, 147.
Mooáhil, town of, 31.
Mooshéj, town of, 25.
Mosailma, usurpation of, 77, 80.
Mugátain, 35.
Murray, Lieutenant Colonel, expedition to Perim, 122; withdrawal to Aden, 123.
Muzuffer Shems-ed-deen obtains government of Yemen, 88; abdicates, 19; death of, *idem*.
Nadheer, tribe of, 52.
Nehm, district of, 40.
Neibuhr, expedition of, 120.
Nejrán, valley of, 39; Christianity in, 60, 62; massacre of, 63; becomes independent of the Imáms of Sanäa, 119.
Nisáb, town of, 44.
Noor-ed-deen, Sultan, reign of, 88.
Nowbat Sheikh Mehdi, expedition against, 166.
Okelis, ruins of, 19.
Omrán, reign of, 50.
Oudain, village of, 31.
Oulád Abd-el-Madán, 77.
Oulaki tribe, 43; chief of upper branch invades Láhej, 161, 168.
Pantenus, St., 57.
Payva, mission of, to Abyssinia, 96.
Perim, island of, 16; British occupation of, 122.
Periplus of the Erythræan Sea, 49.
Persian invasion of Yemen, 73; second invasion, 76; Persian rule, intolerance of, 77.
Popham, Sir Home, mission to Red Sea, 123; appointed ambassador to the states of Arabia, 124; sends his secretary to negotiate treaty at Sanäa, 124; proceeds to Ibb, 124; insulting treatment towards, 125; proceeds to Calcutta, 126; treaty rejected by Imám, *idem*; forms treaty with Sultan of Aden, 126, 160.
Portuguese, religious zeal of, to discover realms of Prestor John, 96; first appearance in Red Sea, 98; second expedition to Red Sea, 99; third ditto, 103.
Prestor John, 96.
Pringle, Mr., visits Sanäa, 123, 124.
Rabia, reign of, 53.
Red Sea, first appearance of Portuguese in, 98; of English, 105; of Dutch, 108; of French, 113.
Regenerator of the Faith.—See *Fukee Saeed*.

Riháma, wife of Saif, 68, 72.
Rodäa, village of, 31.
Rodáh, village of, 30.
Rouais, village of, 25.
Säadeh, district of, 39.
Sabbah, reign of, 60.
Sabeans, religion of, 4, 59; commerce of, 49.
Sábis, Jebel, 32.
Sahbán, reign of, 60.
Saif, 68; goes to Constantinople, 72; death of, in Persia, 73; by some said not to have died in Persia, 75.
Sailán, hamlet of, 34.
Sail-el-Arim, or Sedd Máreb.—See *Máreb*.
Samercand, origin of name, 48; rebuilt by Tobba-el-Akrán, 51.
Samsama, sword called, 61.
Sanäa, district and city of, 27; Government of, 29; Christian church built at, 69; city taken by Wahraz, 74; legend regarding the discovery of a tomb at, 81; taken by Melek Aumi, 94; besieged by Sultan of Aden, 97; visited by Van den Broeck, 109; by Neibuhr, 120; rebellion in district of, 122; visited by Mr. Pringle, 123; second visit of Mr. Pringle, with Mr. Elliot and Lieutenant Lamb, 124; visited by Dr. Finlay, 140; by Mr. Cruttenden, 144; inhabitants refuse to recognise the Imám, and elect a governor, 155; visited by Mr. Stern, 155.
Sanhán, district of, 39.
Sáood, Wahábie chief, 128.
Saris, Captain, voyage of, 108.
Seedee Ahmed deposes his father Ali Mansoor, 128; purposes to attack Mokha, 130; succeeds his father, *idem*.
Seedee Kássim treacherously sells Ta'ez to the Egyptians, 145.
Selim I. overthrows Memlook power in Egypt, 100; purposes to invade Yemen, 101; death of, *idem*.
Serájeh, village of, 30.
Serdius or Serdeed, 71.
Seyed Abdulla Doraib, 142.
Seyed Aboo Bekr, 169.
Seyed Hoosain, 169.
Seyed Ismail attacks Aden, 167; his death, 168.
Shammir Yerásh, reign of, 48.
Sharpey, Captain, voyage of, 105.
Sheikh Othmán destroyed by British, 166, 175.
Shereef Hamood, 129, 132.
Shereef Hoosain occupies the Tehámа, 146; his tyrannical rule, 147, 148; commission sent by the Porte for his deposition, 149; appointed Pasha and Governor of the Tehámа, 150; retires to Aboo-Areesh, 151; routed by Imám of Sanäa, 152; taken prisoner, 153; takes Mokha, *idem*; surrenders Yemen to Turks, 154.
Sherjebi tribe, 32; enter into engagement of friendship with British, 164.
Shilling, Captain, voyage of, 110.
Shoorahbeel, reign of, 47.
Shoorjeh, village of, 26.
Singing first cultivated in Yemen, 65.
Slaves, importation and sale of, prohibited in the Hejáz, 157; riots in consequence, *idem*; treaties regarding trade in, 184, 186.
Small-pox, first probable mention of, in Arabian history, 71.
Soarez de Albergaria, expedition of, to Red Sea, 99.
Somálie expedition, 176.
Somálies, description of, 14.
Somli, 170.
Sons of Commerce, wreck of, 170.
Soobaihá tribe, 33; enter into engagement of friendship with British, 164.
Steam navigation of the Red Sea, 161.
Stern, Mr., visits Sanäa, 155.
Suleimán Pasha, 99; entrusted with the fleet of Suleiman the Magnificent, 101; character of, *idem*; takes Aden, *idem*; expedition to Diu, 102; proceeds to Aden, Mokha, and Zebeed, *idem*.
Suleimán the Magnificent, 101.
Sultans of Láhej. Foudthel bin Ali becomes independent and takes Aden, 159; he is killed by Yaffai chief, *idem*; Abd-el-Kereem, 159; death of, *idem*; Abd-el-Hádi, *idem*; death of, 100; Foudthel, *idem*; death of, *idem*; Ahmed, *idem*; death of, 161; Mahsin, *idem*; cedes Aden to the British, 162; refuses to fulfil his engagement, and Aden is taken, 163; his first attempt to retake Aden, 164; he enters into an engagement of friendship with the British, 164; second attack on Aden, 165; attempts a third time to retake Aden, 166; enters into a further bond with the British, 167; death of, 168;

Ahmed, *idem;* his death, *idem;* Ali, his accession and character, *idem;* comes to terms with the Foudthelies, 170; takes umbrage at the reconciliation of the Foudtheli with the British, 172; machinations of, *idem;* hostile attitude of, 173; punishment of, 174; tenders his submission, 175; chronological table of the Sultans of Láhej, 179.

Ta'ez, city of, 32; sold to Egyptians, 145.

Tajourra, treaty with chief of, 165.

Tami, Sheikh of the Aseeri, defeats the Turks at Konfoda, 132; defeated by Mahommed Ali, *idem;* delivered up to Mahommed Ali, 133.

Tanäim, Jewish city of, 40.

Tásm and Jadees, tribes of, 51; destruction of, 54.

Teháma, signification of, 1; description of, 19.

Telha, and Zobair, conspiracy of, 83.

Theophilus Indus, mission of, 59.

Thomas, St., 57.

Tibbán.—See *Aboo Kárib.*

Tobba-el-Akrán, reign of, 49, 51.

Tobba, the son of Hassan, 57.

Tooran Shah, obtains the government of Yemen, 88.

Treaties, between Captain Shilling and Governor of Yemen, 110; between French and Dowla of Mokha, 113; between Sir Home Popham and Sultan of Láhej, 126; between British and Imám of Sanäa, 129; between Turks and Imám of Sanäa, 154; between British and Sultan of Aden, 162; between the British and the Akrabi, Azaiba, Foudtheli, and Yaffai tribes, 164; between British and Sultan of Láhej, 164, 167, 169, 180; between British and chiefs of Zaila and Tajourra, 165; between British and Habr Owel tribe of Somálies, 184.

Turkchee Bilmás, rebellion of, 141; confirmed by the Porte in the government of the Hejáz, 141; takes Hodaida, Zebeed, and Mokha, 142; escapes to Bombay, 144.

Turks, evacuate Yemen, 110; send an embassy to Sanäa, 115; occupy Yemen, 154; prevail on the Imám to surrender Sanäa, *idem;* disastrous consequences, 155; attempt to take Shehr and Raima, 156; take Seneef, *idem.*

Valentia, Lord, visits Yemen, 128.

Van den Broeck, voyage of, 108; visits Sanäa, 109.

Venetian sailors pressed on board Turkish fleet, 101.

Vertomanus.—See *Barthema.*

Volcanoes in Yemen, 95.

Wahábie sect, origin and progress of, 127; subdued by Mahommed Ali, 130; downfall of, 133.

Wahráz, leads an army against Yemen, 73; takes Sanäa and returns to Persia, 74; a second time invades Yemen, 76; appointed viceroy, 76; death of, 77.

Wália or Wákia, reign of, 60.

Yáffa, district of, 43; chief of, combines with Sultan of Láhej to take Aden, 159; enter into an engagement of friendship with British, 164.

Yasceom, birth of, 68; reign of, 71.

Yáshir-Yoonim, reign of, 48.

Yemáma, origin of name, 55.

Yemen, boundaries of, 1; description of, 2; early commerce of, 3; ancient divisions of, *idem;* modern divisions of, 4; reigning family of, 29; divided into three Governments by Aboo Bekr, 82; throws off its allegiance to the Kálifs, 85; submits to the Eiubite dynasty, 88; inhabitants rebel and are reduced, 104; state of, in the seventeenth century, 108; evacuated by Turks, 110; re-occupied by Turks, 153; Mustafa Pasha, governor of, defeated by the Jeraneea Arabs, 157; Mahommed Pasha, governor of, poisoned, 157.

Yereem, town of, 31.

Yethrib, city of, 52.

Yoodád, son of Wahráz, 73.

Zaid.—See *Tobba-el-Akrán.*

Zaila, taken by Memlook Sultans of Egypt, 98; description of, 98 *n.;* treaty between chief of, and British, 165.

Zebeed, city of, 25; taken by Suleiman Pasha, 102; by Turkchee Bilmas, 142.

Zerka-el-Yemáma, 54.

Zoräa.—See *Dthoo Nowás.*

ERRATA.

Map			*for* Jchâf	*read*	Jof.
Page xii.	line	9	„ do.	„	do.
„ 4, ...	„	30	„ do.	„	do.
„ 15, ...	„	16	„ do.	„	do.
„ 41, ...	„	2 & 3	„ do.		do.
„ 41, ...	Note*,		erase.		

LIBRARY OF THE BOMBAY BRANCH OF THE ROYAL ASIATIC SOCIETY.

00103324

Digitized with financial assistance from

Government of Maharashtra

on 30 January, 2020